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TWO BEKTASHIS OF TO-DAY
(Cf. explanation of illustration 19, p. 247)

Frontispiece]

THE BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES

BY

JOHN KINGSLEY BIRGE, Ph.D.
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TO MY WIFE

RUBY PHILLIPS BIRGE

without whose encouragement and help this study would never have been made.

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PREFACE

SINCE this study is of a Turkish Order, transliteration of Oriental words has been made in accordance with the usage of the modern Turkish alphabet. Certain words such as Haji Bektash, dervish, etc., since they are already familiar to English readers, are spelt according to the usual English spelling. Where words are spelt in the Turkish way they are *italicized*. As a key to aid in the reading of such words the following list of letters is given, including all those which in any marked way differ from the English letters in pronunciation.

- A as in English b*a*r.
- C as in English *j*am.
- Ç as in English *ch*ild.
- E varying from e as in m*e*t to a as in c*a*t.
- Ğ sometimes with value of y, sometimes practically unpronounced.
- İ as in English sh*ee*r.
- I between English h*u*t and h*i*t.
- J as in English garage.
- O between Eng. ch*a*lk and ch*o*ke.
- Ö as in German sch*ö*n.
- Ş as in English *sh*ame.
- Ü as in German f*ü*r, or French l*u*ne.

At the end of a Turkish word an apostrophe is placed preceding an English plural ending, as in *nefes'es*, *meydan's*. Arabic words and phrases are spelt as in modern Turkish usage with the exception of the quotations from the *Hutbetül Beyan*. The twenty-five "words" from this book are written according to the standard system for transliteration from Arabic.

So many friends have given their help in the making of this study that the rendering of proper acknowledgments is quite impossible. The following, however, have given special help for which the author is deeply grateful: Prof. Fuat Köprülü of İstanbul University; Salih Niyazi Dede, Djemal Bey Frasheri and Sulo Bey Çelo of Tirana, Baba Ali Turabi of Tomor, and Selman Jemali Baba of Elbasan, Albania; Bay Riza Tewfik, of Syria; Dr. Emin Kılıc Kale, Bay Riza Nasrullah and Miss Keghouhie Hekim, of Istanbul. My associate, Mrs. Sophie

Huri, has given great assistance in the reading of difficult manuscripts and in the correction of the final copy of this study. Profs. E. E. Calverley of Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hüseyin Pektash of Robert College, and Lutfi Levonian of the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, have all read the original manuscript in its entirety and have given numerous suggestions and criticisms that have been of the greatest help. Prof. Paul Wittek of the University of Brussels has read the historical section, and by his criticisms and in many other ways has been extremely helpful. Finally, the writer wishes to acknowledge his deep debt and gratitude to another great scholar, Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald, of Hartford Seminary Foundation, who first awoke in the writer an interest in Islam and whose friendship and help through the years have been a constant inspiration.

Since this study was first begun and carried out in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree at the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, and since the Seminary Foundation of which that school is a section is participating in the publication of this work, warm appreciation of the part that school has played in making this study possible is most gratefully acknowledged.

So much of this study is technical to a degree that will interest only special students of Islam, any general readers the book may be fortunate enough to have are encouraged to skip the illustrative quotations and many of the tedious theological discussions, especially in Chapter III.

Most of the charts and manuscripts mentioned in the course of this work are in the custody of the Hartford Seminary Foundation Library, where they may be consulted by any students who are interested.

Illustrations 4-6, 11, 12, 18, 21-29 are by H. H. Kreider of Istanbul, Turkey. Illustrations 3, 7-10, 13-17, 30, 31 are by the Wren Studio, Pratt Street, Hartford, Connecticut.

J. K. BIRGE.

ISTANBUL, TURKEY,

February 1st, 1937.

PART I

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY FACTS

1. *The General Place of Dervish Orders in Turkey and other Moslem Countries*

The study of mystic orders in Islam is one of particular importance if the Moslem world is to be adequately understood. The religion left by Muhammad very early developed in two directions. On the one hand it produced a rigid, scholastic theology with an inflexible religious law. At the same time, even from within the first two centuries, a tendency away from this fixed, external system showed its beginning and quickly developed into individuals and groups who emphasized the ascetic life and the mystical approach to direct knowledge of God. As orthodox canonists and professional theologians objected to this tendency to "search the conscience" on the ground that the ultimate result would be in the direction of heresy, organized bands or brotherhoods began to develop, based on the fundamental idea that "the fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (*fawaid*), immaterial and intelligible realities, and that the 'science of hearts' (*ilm al kulub*) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (*ma'rifa* [1])."

Although the article *Tarika* in the Encyclopædia of Islam makes the statement that "As a rule the number of persons affiliated to the brotherhoods in any particular Muslim country is not over three per cent. of the population," it appears certain that in Turkey and Albania, at least, the proportion of actual members and of those loosely affiliated is far greater. When the writer first visited Turkey in 1913 he went about under the impression he had received from books that Turkey was a Sunni (i.e. from the Muhammadan point of view orthodox) country. He quickly found to his surprise that an enormous proportion of the people not only were affiliated with dervish brotherhoods,

[1] Encyclopædia of Islam, article *Tasawwuf*.

but even the leaders who appeared on Friday as Imams in the formal worship (*namaz*) in the mosque, were on other days to be found acting as *Şeyh's* (Shaikhs) in dervish tekkes.[1] During *Muharrem*, the month when Shi'ites especially remember the death of *Hüseyin* and the early injustice done Ali and his family in taking the Caliphate from them, the writer visited tekke after tekke, and found in them all dervishes passionately mourning the death of *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. In discussing this matter later with one of Turkey's greatest scholars the writer expressed the impression that the Turkish people while outwardly Sunni were, under cover of their dervish brotherhoods, partially Shi'ite, at least in their tendencies, and certainly mystical rather than orthodox. The scholar replied that there in Constantinople where the proportion was presumably less than in the rest of the country, probably sixty per cent. of the people belonged directly or indirectly to dervish fraternities. He pointed out that in Christian countries we had in church history experienced our persecutions, Catholics killing Protestants and vice versa, but that there was a certain moral advantage in this. Deep sincerity, he said, lay behind these persecutions. Whereas, in Moslem lands, he continued, the practice of *takiye*, dissimulation, had grown up to make possible a man's continuing his standing as an orthodox member of the religious body while at the same time being a member of a mystic fraternity which emphasized an experiential rather than a traditional and formal approach to reality.

In Turkey, therefore, this tendency to group life in a brotherhood of those seeking a direct knowledge of God must be recognized as a widespread tendency lying sometimes beneath the surface, but influencing probably the lives of a large majority of the people.

In general, the ideology of such groups has come from Arabic and Persian sources, the more learned among the dervish leaders being well able to read and to write in these languages. The most important immediate sources of ideas for all the Turkish dervish orders have been the *Mesnevi*, a great poem written in Persian in the thirteenth century by *Mevlana Celaleddin Rumı*, the patron saint of the *Mevlevi* dervish order, and the two Arabic works *Futuhatı Mekkiye* and *Fususul Hikâm* by *Muhyiddini Arabı* (1165-1240). Lying as a foundation underneath the system developed by the influence of these books has been the

[1] A tekke is a dervish place of gathering for worship and instruction.

common belief and practice of the Turkish people with their inherited customs from the Asiatic past. Certain orders, of which the *Mevlevi's* are the outstanding example, grew up chiefly in urban centres, as aristocratic, intellectual fraternities, especially attracting members from the upper classes on grounds largely of æsthetic appeal. Other groups, of which the Bektashis are the notable exponent, developed directly out of the life of the people. On the surface in these latter groups, lies the Islam which became the accepted religion of the people. Underneath have lain, all down through Ottoman history, customs and practices which came originally from the ethnic life of the various peoples who mingled together on the frontiers in the thirteenth century, and from amongst whom grew up a natural religion of the people.

2. *The Place of the Bektashi Order in Turkish Life*

Among the many dervish fraternities which have exercised their influence over the lives of a large proportion of the Turkish people of the Ottoman Empire the Bektashis have held a unique place. From the point of view of mere numbers they have been significant. The Bektashis themselves estimate their numbers at about seven million. *Ali Turabı Baba, postnişin* of the Bektashi tekke on Mt. Tomori in Albania writing in his Historija E Bektashinjvet[1] says that before the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and the accompanying abolition of the Bektashi Order, annual statistics were kept, and that these figures showed the number of Bektashis to be 7,370,000, seven million being in Anatolia, 100,000 in Albania, 120,000 in Stambul and the remainder scattered through Irak, Crete, Macedonia and other sections especially of the Balkans. In October 1933 *Niyazi Dede*, the head of the officially recognized Bektashi community of Albania, gave me personally his estimate that in the old Turkish Empire there were 7,500,000 Bektashis not counting the more or less loosely affiliated Kizilbash. There were in the Eastern Provinces of Turkey alone, he said, 1,500,000. In Albania he estimated there were 200,000 or twenty per cent. of the population. The English traveller and historian, Rycaut, writing in the seventeenth century, says that the Bektashis "are now grown into that vast multitude as is almost impossible to extirpate them." He quotes his teacher as saying that

[1] Historija E Pergjitheshme E Bektashinjvet prej Ate Ali Turabiut. Tirane, 1929. Page 64.

Bektash had many millions of followers.[1] A more recent observer, *Besim Atalay*, delegate from Aksaray in the Grand National Assembly, writing in 1340 (1924) estimates their numbers at 1,500,000,[2] including apparently the Kizilbash and Tahtajis in this figure. If we take the lowest figure given by any observer, approximately ten per cent. of the population of Turkey were directly or indirectly under the influence of this Order.[3]

Not a mystical fraternity alone, the Bektashis have played their important military rôle all through Ottoman history down to 1826 through their intimate connection, apparently from the beginning, with the Janissary army corps. Village groups scattered throughout Anatolia, under the names Kizilbash (Red heads), *Tahtaci's*, *Abdal's*, *Çepni's*, in ways that will be later enumerated, are related intimately with the Bektashi organization by belief and tradition and religious ceremony and often in organization as well.

Perhaps the most important justification, however, for studying the Bektashi Order is the fact, generally recognized by all students of Turkish culture to-day, that all down through Ottoman history, when the orthodox religious life of the people was under dominant Arabic influence, when the classic literature in vogue in palace circles was Persian, and when even a great mystic order such as the *Mevlevi's*, based its belief and practice on a book written entirely in Persian, the Bektashis consistently held to the Turkish language and perpetuated in their belief and practice some at least of the pre-Islamic elements of Turkish culture. A Turkish investigator in 1926, writing in the official magazine of the national culture society called the Turkish *Ocak*, makes the claim that the Turkish national ideal never was able to find its expression in the Arab internationalism, but did find it in the tekkes or lodge rooms of the Alevi orders of which the Bektashis and village groups related to them are chief examples. In the secret practices of those religious groups alone was "national freedom" to be found.[4] The very aim, he says, of the founders of these groups, was to preserve the Turkish tongue and race and blood.[5]

[1] The Present State of the Ottoman Empire by Paul Rycaut, London, 1668. Page 149.

[2] *Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı, Besim Atalay*. Istanbul, 1340. Page 5.

[3] Hasluck in Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, page 161, gives 80,000 as the number of Bektashis in Albania, and says that Bektashis themselves claim 3,000,000 as their total number.

[4] *Türk Yurdu*, no. 21, *Eylül* 1926, article by *Baha Sait* on *Türkiyede Alevi Zumreleri*. Page 204.

[5] Ibid. page 207.

That this point of view, while extreme, is not that of an isolated individual is shown by the fact that in 1930 the Department of Public Instruction of the Central Government of the Republic printed 3,000 copies of a book called Bektashi Poets[1] containing biographical sketches and selections from the religious verse of 180 Bektashi poets. In recent years every history of Turkish literature written for school use has emphasized for each century "Bektashi Literature," because in that, more than in any other type of writing, the original Turkish language and Turkish literary forms were used and Turkish national customs and points of view reflected.

3. *A Brief History of the Study of the Bektashi Order*

Modern interest on the part of scholars in the Bektashi Order may be said to go back to the great history of Turkey written by Von Hammer. In that history publicity is given to the tradition of the first blessing of the Janissary soldiers at their beginning by Haji Bektash Veli.[2] The first attempt to write of the order itself and its practices came in 1868 when Brown's book, The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism, appeared. An exceedingly valuable, but uncritical, collection of material having to do with the beliefs and practices and symbols of the Bektashi as well as of other dervish orders, this book has recently been reprinted in a new edition with notes, index and better arrangement by Rose.[3] Unsuspected new light was thrown on the beliefs of the Bektashi Order when, in the spring of 1897, Prof. Edward G. Browne spent an Easter vacation in Paris studying in the Bibliothèque Nationale two manuscripts containing several treatises having to do with an obscure sect called the Hurufis. The results of this study were published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1898, and in a second article in the same journal in the July number of 1907, Prof. Browne reported further discoveries. Stirred with interest in the Hurufi sect by his studies in Paris in 1897, he had ordered his bookseller to procure for him from the Orient available Hurufi texts. To his surprise, the treatises of an order thought to have been long dead turned up in quantities revealing that they were in use in some present-day quarter. On inquiry, it was discovered that they came from the Bektashis, and that

[1] *Bektaşi, Şairleri, Sadettin Nüzhet*, Istanbul 1930.
[2] Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches; Pesth, 1834, Vol. I, page 97.
[3] The Darvishes, Oxford Press, 1927.

in the present-day Bektashi Order the doctrines of Fazlullah, the founder of the Hurufi sect, were being perpetuated.

In 1908 there appeared in Germany the first attempt at a critical study of the Bektashis. Prof. Jacob in his Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis, not only examined the history and spread of the Bektashis, criticising, among other things, the tradition that Haji Bektash Veli could have given his blessing in person at the time of the founding of the Janissary army corps, but also added a translation of a Turkish book which appeared in 1873 (1290) called *Kâşif ul esrar ve Def ul eşrar*, Discoverer of Secrets and Rejector of Evils, a bitter attack on the Bektashis, especially on account of their acceptance of Hurufi doctrines. Jacob followed up this study with his book Die Bektaschijje, published in 1909, containing a careful analysis of all the material, oriental and occidental, then available bearing on the Bektashi Order. In this book he gave special attention to a study of the sources, Christian, Shi'ite, Gnostic and pagan from which the Bektashis had received doctrines or practices.

Basing his studies on personal travel and investigation in Turkey, the English classicist, F. W. Hasluck, published in the years from 1911 on, especially in the Annals of the British School at Athens, interesting studies of the Bektashis, their geographic distribution, their methods of propaganda, and the relation of their sacred places to Christian sacred places. These studies were translated into Turkish[1] in 1928. Later, supplementing these personal investigations on the field by a reading of every European book bearing on the subject Hasluck gathered a mass of material which, after his death, his wife published in 1929 under the title, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans. In these studies Hasluck examined the European sources for an understanding of the founding of the Janissaries and concluded that the Haji Bektash Veli tradition in connection therewith could not be true. He tended to find in *Fazlullah Hurufi* the real founder of the Bektashi Order, and to doubt even the historicity of Haji Bektash Veli's existence[2] except as a possible tribal ancestor who contributed only his name.

In the meantime Turkish scholars had been at work on the Turkish sources. In 1918 Prof. Dr. *Köprülü Zade Fuat Bey*[3] of the University of Istanbul published his important First

[1] *Bektaşilik Tetkikleri*, Istanbul, 1928.

[2] Hasluck, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, pages 341 and 488.

[3] In accordance with the law requiring choice and registration of family names, this name was changed to *M. Fuad Köprülü* in 1936.

Mystics in Turkish Literature,[1] devoting considerable space to the traditions of Haji Bektash Veli and to a critical study of the historic facts. Writing in 1924, *Hilmi Ziya*, a professor in the Galata *Saray* school,[2] noted in the *Mihrap* magazine[3] that the study of Haji Bektash Veli having begun in tradition, had passed in the critical stage to an excessive denial of his influence, even of his existence, and that the pendulum was now swinging back to give a more truly historical picture of the founder of the Bektashi Order. In that article he announced the discovery of a copy of a work dated 812 (1409), throwing possible light not only on Haji Bektash Veli's existence but upon his teachings as well.[4] In October 1923 Prof. *Fuat Bey* delivered at the International Congress of the History of Religions in Paris a most important address on the Origins of Bektashiism. In this he criticised the work heretofore done on the Bektashis, pointing out the necessity of studying the religious history of Anatolia for an understanding of the background of all the dervish orders. He reported new historical evidence discovered since the publishing of his " Early Mystics," not only establishing more definitely the historical character of Haji Bektash Veli, but also revealing apparently authentic teachings of the master.[5]

Supplementing the direct work of critical scholars an important research has of recent years been made into the life, the doctrines and the practices of the Alevi or so-called village Bektashi groups. In the Magazine of the Theological Department of the University during the years 1928 to 1930 Prof. *Yusuf Ziya Bey* published a most interesting account of personal visits among the Alevi villages around *Eski Şehir* in search of an intimate enough knowledge of Alevi life and thought so that visits in the rôle of an actual Alevi might be made to the *Tahtaci* villages near Smyrna.[6] The result of these studies from actual life furnishes a fund of information that is of special value in establishing the actual relation of these village Alevi groups with the Bektashi Order, its doctrines and its practices.

[1] *Turk Edebiyatında Ilk Mutesavvıflar.*

[2] Now on the Faculty of the University of Istanbul.

[3] *Temmuz* 1340, no. 15, 16, page 515.

[4] *Temmuz* 1340, no. 15, 16, page 517.

[5] Les Origines du Bektachisme, Extrait des Acts du Congres International d'Histoire des Religions. Paris, 1926. Article *Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri* in *Türk Yurdu*, no. 8, 1341.

[6] *Ilâhiyat Fakultesi Mecmuası*, nos. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, years 1928-1930. An earlier study into a similar subject had been made in 1891 by V. Luschan: " Die Tahtadji und andere Reste der Alten Bevolkerung Lykiens " in Archiv. für Anthropologie, 19.Pd., Braunschiveig 1891.

In contrast to others of the dervish orders of Turkey such as the *Mevlevi* or Whirling Dervishes and the *Rufai* or Howling Dervishes, the Bektashis have no public service of worship. In fact, the entire ritual of the Bektashi Order is guarded with such absolute secrecy and the beliefs are so obviously kept in concealment from the public understanding that there has long prevailed in Turkey a great curiosity as to the Bektashi Secret. Books and articles have been written in an attempt to discover the elusive mystery. *Besim Atalay's Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı*[1] and *Ahmet Rıfkı's Bektaşi Sırrı*,[2] (The Bektashi Secret) are among the more important of these, both being attempts at fair appraisal of the Order. *Ziya Bey's "Bektaşilik"* in the columns of the daily newspaper, *Yeni Gün*,[3] is an excellent study by a Bektashi himself, presenting an account of the history, beliefs and practices from the Bektashi point of view. The articles end with a point of view in agreement with that often expressed by Bektashis since the Republic of Turkey abolished all dervish orders. Since the Republic, they say, has by government action accomplished what the Bektashis long stood for—abolition of the Caliphate, freedom of women from the veil and social restraints, putting an end to the fanaticism of religious leaders—there is no longer need for the continuance of the order within the borders of the Republic.

As if to offset the favourable reports of curious students, and as a natural result perhaps of an unorthodox doctrine kept secret, there have appeared in recent years, particularly since November 1925, when all dervish lodges were closed, many articles in depreciation of the Bektashis. Their secret is shown to be something contrary to both religion and morality.[4] The important novel, *Nur Baba*, by one of Turkey's greatest writers, *Yakup Kadri*, himself at one time a Bektashi, appeared first in newspaper columns then in two editions in book form,[5] and is an amazingly frank treatment of abuses, written before the dervish orders were abolished, in the hope of aiding a needed reform.

4. *The Purpose of This Study*

It is this order with its mystery which has challenged the

[1] Published in Istanbul in 1340 (1924).
[2] Published in Istanbul in 1325-1327 (1909-1911).
[3] Forty instalments, from Jan. 26th, 1931 to March 8th, 1931.
[4] See, for example, the articles in *Büyük Gazette*, Nos. 1-26, November 1926–March, 1927.
[5] Second Edition, Istanbul, 1923.

attention of students for centuries, with its intimate connection with Turkey's military history, and her social and literary culture, an order of which descriptions have been written in high praise and in bitter condemnation, that we are in these pages to attempt to study. Our aim will be neither to praise nor to condemn the order, but to study it objectively, with the particular purpose of trying as best a sympathetic outsider may, to see life and its problems, the mystery of the universe and its explanation, as a Bektashi himself sees them. It is hoped that this study will serve as a sufficiently comprehensive exposition of the beliefs and practices of the order, and of the common references in Bektashi literature, so that it may be an introduction to the intelligent reading of Bektashi poetry and other literary expressions. Only in a secondary way is the study interested in showing relations with Islam in general and with other religious origins. Numerous resemblances to other religious systems will be pointed out, but the writer is frankly sceptical of any attempt to trace dogmatically the origin of a particular belief and practice to its exact and single source. Both beliefs and practices have frequently been the result of influences from different directions combining in a new form where the common elements have been retained or differing elements so changed as to attract a very mixed population, making each group find something familiar to that which has been already known.

Although this study is chiefly an attempt to get at the beliefs and practices of the Bektashis as such are explained in their own literature and in manuscript manuals actually used by their leaders, it has seemed advisable also to set forth at the beginning such facts as are known about the history and origin of the order. This is all the more necessary since the writer believes that previous studies by European scholars have been misleading. New material discovered by Turkish scholars has thrown new light on this very obscure but significant page of history. Much investigation needs yet to be made, however, before the full story of the origin of the Bektashis and of the part they have played in Ottoman history can be adequately understood.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE ORDER

A.—THE FIRST PERIOD FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE ORDER ABOUT 1250 TO THE TIME OF *BALIM SULTAN* ABOUT 1500

1. *The Condition of Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century*

For an adequate understanding not only of the Bektashis, but of the *Mevlevi's* and other dervish orders as well, it is of the greatest importance that due appreciation be given to the social and religious conditions existing throughout Asia Minor in that creative thirteenth century when these orders had their birth. In the case of Bektashiism it is particularly important because, as we shall see all through this study, there are combined in this order a considerable number of both doctrines and practices that show the influence of various types of Christian, Islamic, Greek and pagan thought. One of the critical questions of greatest interest relating to this order is the matter of how it arose and from where it received its many ideas. A brief account of the outstanding events of the thirteenth century will help us to picture the situation out of which this Order arose.

Long before the beginning of the century the penetration of Asia Minor by hordes of Moslems had begun. Forces of Oguz Turks had entered Asia Minor as early as 1037 when they defeated on the shores of Lake Van a Byzantine force, killing 24,000 of the Christian foe.[1] The chief invasion of the country by Turkish peoples, however, came almost immediately after the battle of *Malazgirt* in 1071. After the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, had been defeated by *Alp Arslan*, the Great Seljuk, at *Malazgirt*, the conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman Empire from Erzrum to Constantinople were entrusted by Alp Arslan to *Suleyman*, the son of *Kutlumuş*,[2]

[1] J. Laurent, Byzance et Les Turcs Seldjoucides p. 33, n.l, quoting from Arisdagnès de Lazdwerd's Histoire d'Armenie written about 1071.

[2] For the spelling of this word, usually written *Kutulmuş* see P. Wittek's Deux Chapitres de L'Histoire des Turcs de Roum, in Byzantion, XI 1936, p. 296, n.l. These lectures by Prof. Wittek give an invaluable account of this whole period.

descended as Alp Arslan himself was from Seljuk. *Suleyman* with his four brothers crossed the Euphrates and in an incredibly short time traversed the length of Asia Minor and established his camp at *Kütahya*. He later set up his palace in Nicea, his forces in six years having extended themselves from the Euphrates almost to Constantinople and from the Black Sea to Şyria.[1]

This rapid penetration of so important a part of the Byzantine Empire is explained by the peculiar conditions prevailing in Anatolia at this time. Preceding the battle of *Malazgirt* Alp Arslan appears to have entertained no warlike intentions against Asia Minor. His objective rather was Syria and Egypt. His forces were before Aleppo and he was planning to proceed next against Damascus, when he was forced to turn back at the news of Romanus' march through Armenia. His haste in turning back led to an appearance of disordered retreat which encouraged the Greeks and aided in their defeat.[2]

Following the decisive battle of *Malazgirt* five factors conspired to pave the way for a rapid advance over territory which the Seljuk commander had not originally planned to invade.

First there was the break up of the Byzantine army. It had been severely defeated in battle and its commander captured. Under Isaac Comnenos, the general who succeeded to authority, mutinies of Norman mercenaries led to further misfortunes, even to the defeat and capture of Comnenos.[3] The army in its own strength was no longer able to offer effective resistance.

Social conditions prevailing among the poor peasantry tended also to alienate the local inhabitants from the Byzantine authority. A considerable part of these peasants had been completely under the power of the rich landowners and were ready to listen to the promises of a rival power. Many estates were worked by slaves. *Suleyman* declared them free on payment of a certain tax and so won their sympathy for the invader.[4]

A third factor was the *acritae*, frontier guards, upon whom the responsibility was placed for defending the empire from Moslem invaders and from the raids of the *apelatae*, or outlaws who roved in bands and were ready to fight for either side. For these guards life had been an almost daily struggle in war, and

[1] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, 3rd Edition by Bury VI, 249.
[2] Cahen, La Campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes, in Byzantion IX, 1934, 628.
[3] K. V. Zetterstéen, article on Sulaiman b. Kutulmish in Encycl. of Islam.
[4] Ibid.

following the defeat of Romanus their defection to the side of the Seljuks removed the last barrier to the flood from the east.[1]

Corresponding to the *acritae* on the Byzantine side were the *gazis*, or conquerors for the faith, on the Moslem front. Dr. Wittek in his lectures on the History of the Turks in Rum[2] has shown us how important were these fighters, and how the *gazi* mentality animated the Danishments, the Seljuks and all the Turkish invaders at least down to the time of Muhammad the Conqueror. Driven on by a fanatical zeal they entered Asia Minor with an enthusiasm strongly in contrast to the waning interest of the *acritae* in the Byzantine cause.

A fifth factor was the nomadic *Türkmen* peoples. How early this penetration by Turkmen tribes began is uncertain, but the Turkish historian Prof. *Fuad Köprülü* has indicated in his Les Origines de L'Empire Ottoman[3] that by the middle of the thirteenth century Anatolia was in large part, perhaps predominantly, Turkish, a population made up principally of these *Türkmen* peoples. The victory of *Malazgirt* must have given a great impetus to this movement, and thereby served to furnish an ever increasing Turkish population upon which throughout a large part of Asia Minor the Seljuk forces might depend for friendly support.

By the opening of the thirteenth century the capital of the Seljuk State had been removed to Konya, and seven Seljuk rulers had sat on the throne. Rival Islamic states, the Danishments of Sivas and Malatiya in particular, had been conquered, and just before the century opened, *Kılıc Arslan II* felt so secure that he divided his empire between his eleven sons.[4] The oldest of these, *Rüknüddin Suleyman*,[5] by 1200 had again united the Empire under his solitary rule and the Seljuk State of Rum was ready to enter upon its days of greatest extension and glory.

Following the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople in 1204, the Turks became the natural allies of the Greeks and the enemies of both the Crusaders and their allies, the

[1] P. Wittek in Byzantion XI 1936 pp. 291, 292. Rambaud's Etudes sur L'Histoire Byzantine pp. 71-108 gives an account of Digenis Akritas one of the leaders of these frontier guardsmen. In Wittek's lectures, p. 291 n.l, other important references are noted.

[2] Byzantion XI 1936 pp. 285-319.

[3] Lectures delivered before the Centre of Turkish Studies in the Sorbonne, and published by the Institut Français D'Archéologie de Stamboul, De Boccard, Paris, 1935. For the penetration of Asia Minor by *Türkmen* tribes see pages 52-54.

[4] Encyclopædia of Islam, Seldjuks.

[5] *Düveli Islamiye*, page 210; and *Halil Ethem's Kayseri Şehri*, p. 10 and n. 3.

Armenians.[1] The golden era of the Seljuks came in the reign of *Alaeddin Keykubat I* whose reign extended from 1219 to 1236. Having spent several years as an exile in Constantinople, *Alaeddin* was a well educated man, familiar with Christianity.[2] During his enlightened reign occurred the great building era which has left to our own day architectural remains of great splendour. Konia, Sivas, and Alaja, in particular, were beautified by palaces, mosques, theological colleges and other buildings constructed when Seljuk art was at its best. *Alaeddin* extended his territory to Seleucia and compelled the Armenian princes to pay tribute and to contribute soldiers for his army. He annexed the territory of a collateral Seljuk dynasty in Erzrum, and he gained also the city of Ahlat on Lake Van.[3] His greatest victory, however, was one destined to undermine his empire. In 1230 he moved against the *Harezm Şah Celalledin* who had attempted an invasion of Asia Minor and had captured Ahlat. In a battle near Erzinjan *Alaeddin* was completely victorious. But the victory served only to remove the last obstacle in the way of the Mongols who had been waiting on the East, hesitating to attack the seemingly all powerful Seljuk Empire of Rum.[4] In 1243, however, Alaeddin's successor *Giyaseddin Keyhusrev II* was defeated at *Kösedağ* (between Erzinjan and Sivas) and was forced to pay a heavy tribute. From this time on, the independence of the Seljuk state was gone. The Mongol Emperor, Hulagu, not only took tribute but decided questions of succession. An attempt to expel the Mongols with Mamluk aid from Egypt resulted only in warfare. A victory for the Mamluks at Elbistan was followed by their defeat. Sivas and Cesarea were captured in 1243 by the Mongols; the people of the latter city were massacred or taken as slaves and the city was burned.[5] From 1248 on Asia Minor was virtually under a Mongol viceroy.[6]

As a natural result of this absentee control and the completely enfeebled state of the Seljuk ruler himself, Turkish

[1] Britannica XIV, vol. 20, page 310.

[2] Hasluck, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, p. 370.

[3] Britannica XIV, vol. 20, page 310.

[4] Von Hammer writing in Nouveau Journal Asiatique in April 1829 quotes the historian Djenabi as follows: "Les provinces soumises à Keikobad etaient: Conia, Akserai, Kaisariye, la Caramanie toute entière, Aidin, Mentecha, Saroukhan, Hamid, Guermian, Kerde, Castemonia, Angora, Malatia, Meraach, Elbistan, Tocat, Amasia, Nigisar, Erzendjian, Samsoun et Sinope."

[5] For a picture of the human suffering caused by these wars which ravaged Asia Minor see "*Ahlat Kitabeleri*" *Abdurrahman Serif*, Istanbul, 1932, pp. 47-54 and *Kayseriye Şehri, Halil Ethem*, Istanbul, 1334, pages 80 ff.

[6] Britannica XIV, vol. 20, page 310.

emirs finally set up independent states in various parts of Anatolia. What had been a united state under *Alaeddin Keykubat*, by 1300 was broken up into more than a dozen principalities. The following list of these with the names of the ruling families, the dates of their rule and the general localities will perhaps be of value in forming an impression of the political situation in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century.[1]

Name of Family	Approximate Dates	General Locality
The Sons of *Pervane*	1277–1300	*Sinope*
Sahip Ata	Last of 13th Cent.	*Afyon Karahisar*
Karasi	1300–1336	*Balikesir*
Saruhan	1300–1410	*Manisa*
Aydin	1299–1403	*Aydin*
Menteşe	1300–1425	*Mugla*
Teke	1300–1426	*Teke*
Eşref	–1327	*Beyşehir* (near *Konya*)
Hamit	–1391	*Hamiteli* (near *Burdur*)
Germiyan	1300–1428	*Kütahya*
Denizli or Ladik	1277–1368	*Denizli*
Karaman	1256–1483	*Karaman*
Candar	1292–1461	*Kastamonu*
Osman	1299–1923	Asia Minor, etc.
Zülkadir	1339–1521	Marash and Elbistan
Ramazan	1378–1608	Adana

We have seen thus far the rapidity with which Turkish forces overran the whole of Asia Minor, a political fact in itself astonishing enough to make many wonder if there was not some racial or cultural affinity between the local inhabitants and the Turkish invaders.[2] We have seen that the Turkish rulers were sometimes thrown politically into close association with the Byzantine rulers, and that after almost incessant war with rival Turkish dynasties, the Crusaders and finally the Mongols, the Seljuk State broke up into more than a dozen principalities each seeking to maintain and extend its territory. The number and geographical distribution of these principalities indicate clearly that by about 1300 the whole of Asia Minor had been well Turkified.

[1] The data following are taken from *Düveli Islamiye* by Halil Ethem, Istanbul, 1927. Begun originally as a translation into Turkish of Lane-Poole's, The Mohammedan Dynasties, additions and corrections in the light of more recent knowledge were made until the present excellent volume of 640 pages came into being.

[2] Sir William Ramsay in his Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization, Yale University Press, 1928, p. vii suggests the possibility that "the early ground-stock of Anatolia was akin to Old-Turkish in character and in language."

Two factors, at first sight contradictory to each other, were at work in this complicated situation to make for the beginnings of a mystical and secret-fraternity, religious life. In the first place, the witness of a more or less unified state with its outer pomp and glory crumbling before the Mongol invader and the lack of political security involved in all the resulting wars led naturally to a sense of insecurity and of the transitoriness of human life. A dislike of the world and the burning desire for a Good that transcends this life led many to seek escape in a religious mysticism that was other-worldly. The century, in other words, was a period of such social unrest as to drive even high spirits to the search for inner peace in a life of religious devotion.

In the second place, strongly contrasting with this turning to religion for consolation away from the affairs of this transitory world, there was at work also before, during and after the thirteenth century a militant impulse, a war-like desire to conquer the world in the name of religion. This attitude had characterized many of the first Islamic invaders of Anatolia and is given expression to in the word *Gazi* by which, first the Danishments about 1071, and later other Turkish princes, described themselves. Not only zeal for the faith, but aggressive interest in things of this world as well, the hope and expectation of booty, operated in full measure in this point of view.[1]

In Bektashi literature influences derived from both of these two factors are indicated in books which have come down to us to-day. The poetry of Yunus Emre, the *Fevaitname* of Haji Bektash are expressions of the interest in and longing for the other world. The stories of the Conquests of Ali, the traditions of *Seyit Gazi Bottal*, the *Vilayetname* of Haji Bektash Veli and the *Vilayetname* of *Seyit Ali Sultan* are expressions of the " Gazi " mentality. The last-named book especially preserves the actual detailed tradition of the part played by the followers of Haji Bektash himself in the early conquests of the Ottomans. The first factor helped produce such mystics as *Celaleddin Rumi* and Haji Bektash who later became the patron saints of organized dervish orders. The second factor is, in the case of the Bektashis, probably in large part, responsible for the building of an organized order and for its growth and spread.

As we shall see in the whole course of our study, there is much in Bektashiism that might appeal to the population on

[1] For discussion of the *Gazi* attitude see Wittek's Deux Chapitres, Byzantion XI, 1936, p. 302 ff.

both the Moslem and the Christian side. Actual origins are not always susceptible of proof, but the later facts suggest a general source in a situation where Moslems and Christians, both heretical and orthodox, were mingling.

In the thirteenth century we find surprisingly close relationships between Christianity and Islam. Just before the century began, the Crusaders in passing through Asia Minor captured Konia under Frederick Barbarossa (1190), and for a time the Sultan was forced to furnish guides and provisions. From this time on, contact with Crusaders exercised a constant and far reaching influence. *Rüknüddin Suleyman* who came to the throne as Sultan in 1196 had already as Prince of Tokat followed the example of other early Turkish states in coining money in imitation of the coins of Christians. The Danishments had even minted a coin with the image of the Messiah stamped on it.[1] *Rüknüddin Suleyman's* coins were evidently minted in great quantities and are among the most common of Islamic coins to-day. A great proportion of them bear the picture of a horseman carrying a mace over his shoulder, a figure quite evidently in imitation of that on a coin minted by Roger of Antioch a hundred years before.[2] His brother *Keyhüsrev I*, whose two reigns both preceded and followed *Suleyman's*, had spent a period of exile among Christians, having taken refuge among them from his brother, *Suleyman*, and is said to have married a Christian wife, and to have nearly become a Christian himself.[3] His immediate successor *Alaeddin*, as has already been stated, lived for some years in Constantinople, and at least appeared to be without prejudice against Christianity. In war his main reliance was upon the Christian soldiers in his army, and he granted extensive privileges to Christian merchants.[4] That orthodox Islam with its prejudices sat lightly on other Seljuk rulers of the century is evidenced also by the fact that *Alaeddin's* successor, *Keyhüsrev II*, after marrying a Georgian princess with whom he was deeply in love, sought to mint coins bearing his name on one side and his wife's on the other, and after being prevented from doing this by his advisors, minted instead in very great

[1] Catalogue of the Ottoman Museum *Muzei Humayun Meskukatı Kadimei Islamiye Katalogu* IV, coin No. 107. A similar coin is in Yale Library collection.

[2] *Takvimi Meskukat Selcukiye*, coin No. 14. Coins in the Yale Library collection indicate that although the dragon on the original which was evidently a representation of St. George, has apparently disappeared, the halo is retained.

[3] Hasluck's Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, p. 370. *Hasan Fehmi's Anadolu Selçukıleri*, a translation of *Müneccimbaşı*, p. 25.

[4] Britannica XIV. Article Seldjuks.

quantities coins bearing on one side pictures of a lion and the sun, symbolic of his wife's beauty and his own majesty.[1] It was quite in harmony with the example set by the rulers that *Celaleddin*, the famous mystical poet of Konia and the Patron Saint of the *Mevlevi* dervishes, was himself tolerant and friendly toward Christians as is symbolized by the fact that a Christian ecclesiastic is buried beside him.[2]

Not only were the relations between Moslems and Christians unexpectedly close during this century, but the type of Islam professed by the Seljuk leaders and their followers was in no small measure influenced by the Persian type which later under Ismail the *Safevi* became formalized as the Shi'ite doctrine. Since in literature, art and the language of the palace they were under Persian influence it is perhaps only natural that they should carry with them into Asia Minor a theological influence also. Babinger, writing in 1921 in the Journal of the German Oriental Society,[3] went so far as definitely to say that the Seljuk rulers were heretical and Alevi in their professions and affiliations. Prof. *Fuad Köprülü* denies this but admits that influences of a similar nature were at work, veneration for Ali and the Twelve Imams, and also great respect for dervish *şeyh's* for whom tekkes, or dervish lodge rooms, were built and richly endowed.[4]

More important perhaps by far than the attitude of Seljuk rulers during this period is the practical everyday life of the common people. The century was one of almost perpetual warfare, with new political alignments almost continually being made. It was a period of immigration also, especially from the East, and the religious fate of the future was in no small part being wrought out in the social influences operating upon the frontier peoples. Dr. Wittek has shown us that on the frontier the peoples on both sides were nearer to each other in culture than they were to the more highly civilized people of their own capi-

[1] Von Hammer in Nouveau Journal Asiatique for Avril, 1829, pages 249, 250, quoting from the historian Djenabi. See also Catalogue of Coins of the Ottoman Museum IV, coins 325-379.

[2] Hasluck, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, p. 371-378.

[3] Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol. 76, 1922, page 128.

[4] For a detailed study of this whole question see *Edebiyat Fakultesi Mecmuası*, 1338 (1922) Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, articles on *Anadoluda Islamiyet*. In the first number Babinger's article is translated and in the two following Prof. *Köprülü* gives an extended account of religious conditions in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century. For statements above see especially No. 3, page 191 and No. 4, pages 292, 293.

tals. The Greeks and Armenians of Anatolia more closely resembled in culture and habits of life the Muhammedan peoples who invaded Asia Minor than they did the Greeks of Constantinople. From the point of view of the Byzantine capital the people of Anatolia were more than anything else a treasure to be exploited. The people on the frontier could furnish soldiers for the army and money for taxes. Otherwise they meant little to the people of the Capital. The common people throughout the country were just enough alienated from the central government in Constantinople because of taxes and other government pressure so that they were frequently quite willing to go over to the other side and work with the invading force. That, as we have already seen, is one reason why, following the Battle of *Malazgirt* in 1071, the forces of the Seljuk *Suleyman* could almost immediately overrun Asia Minor and leave him as a Prince living in Nicea by 1077. A constant interchange of religious influence was going on. The Danishments of Sivas and Malatiya had played the part of invaders and conquerors from even before *Malazgirt*. Tradition says they were of Armenian origin, and according to Dr. Wittek that may be true. Tradition seems also to be supported by history in tracing the dynasty of Karaman, later the chief foes of the Ottomans, back to Karaman, son of an Armenian convert to Islam who married the daughter of *Alaeddin Keykubat II* and was granted a fief.[1]

It was characteristic of the frontier life that heresies of all sorts received welcome among the common people. Both Christian and Muhammedan heresies flourished. When the central government became strong as in the case of the Seljuks for a time at Konia and the Ottomans later in Brusa, Adrianople and Constantinople, the tendency to develop a high foreign culture was irresistible, there being at the time no local native culture of sufficient vitality. This culture thus developed in the capitals, although Persian for the most part on the literary and artistic sides, was orthodox or Sunni Muhammedan on the religious side. The central governments increasingly being influenced in this orthodox direction, religious influences in the capitals tended to develop in the same direction, while among the masses of the people the heretical Shii tendencies continued.

[1] Von Hammer in Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Avril, 1829; the quotation from Djenabi is of importance not only in showing the origin of the Caraman dynasty but also in indicating the influence of dervish "Babas" over Seljuk rulers. The historian Neschri is mentioned in confirmation of Djenabi.

Religion among the common people thus became, as Moslems and Christians on the frontiers mingled, a very mixed affair, and it is out of that mixture of all sorts of elements, Christian, Muhammedan and pagan, that the Bektashi and affiliated Kizilbash sectaries developed.[1] How far Christian influences operating upon the Turks from the pre-Islamic period affected the Turkish invaders of Asia Minor in the thirteenth century is completely unknown. That there were, however, great numbers of Christian Turks in Central Asia before and after Islam entered appears to be certain.[2]

Especially influential among the frontier peoples were *Türkmen babas*[3] who travelled with the *Türkmen*[4] tribes which made up a large part of the Seljuk armies. Coming from Central Asia, *Harezm* (Khwarezm) and *Horasan*, (Khurasan) they were in large part dervishes or mystics who were followers of *Ahmet Yesevı* the great twelfth-century religious teacher of Turkestan. They spoke the Turkish language and preserved under the outer

[1] For detailed study of the influence of frontier life on religious development see Dr. Wittek's contribution to Festschrift fur Georg Jacob, entitled: Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter, and also his chapter Die Byzantinisch-Seldschukische Grenze zur des Reiches von Nicea (1204–1261) in Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Of particular importance possibly as a heresy from the Christian side which may have had its influence in the formation of the beliefs and practices of the Bektashis is the heresy of the Paulicians. Bury's Edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. VI, p. 110ff, 540ff. Conybeare, The Key of Truth. Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, Die Paulikianer im Byzantinischen. The related groups known as Messalians or Euchites seem to have an even closer relationship. It is perhaps significant that the Paulicians were especially to be found in the region of the upper Euphrates where in 1238 broke out the Revolt of the Babas under Ishak. (See page 32).

[2] An important source for a study of Christian Turks is Mingana's the Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East. A New Document, Manchester, 1925. Other important references are Barthold's Christianity in Central Asia, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* I, 47-101; *Cami Bey's Hristiyan Türkler* 2nd edition. Istanbul, 1932 discussing particularly Christian Turks within the borders of the Ottoman Empire; *Fuat Köprülü's* discussion of Christianity among the *Oğuz Türkmen* tribes in *Anadoluda Islamiyet Ilah. Fak. Mec.* 1338, No. 4, p. 286 ff; The History of Yaballaha III by J. A. Montgomery, Columbia University Press, 1927, the story of a 13th century Christian Turkish Bishop.

[3] The word "Baba" literally means father, but from the earliest days has been used of any aged man in token of respect, particularly for a man of religious authority, and in recent centuries has been used as the title especially for Bektashi *Şeyh's*. (*Kamusu Türkı*).

[4] The word "*Türkmen*" was as early as 1073 interpreted to mean "like Turks" (Divanı Lûgatı Türk III, 307. William of Tyre before 1200 sets us a safe example in differentiating the words *Türk* and *Türkmen* as follows: "That there might be some distinction, at least in name, between those who made themselves a King, and thus achieved such glory, and those who still abode in their primitive barbarism and adhere to their old way of life, the former are nowadays called Turks, the latter by their old name Turkomans." (William of Tyre I-7, quoted in Yule's Travels of Marco Polo by Cordier, Scribner, 1903), Gibbon makes the same distinction. (Bury's Decline and Fall, London, 3rd. Edition VI, p. 232, n. 22.)

cloak of Islam many of the old pre-Islamic customs.[1] They wore strange costumes, spread broadcast stories of their miraculous powers, lived as religious devotees, played the part of wandering minstrels and were more influential with the rude, nomadic tribes than were the more polished and orthodox mystic philosophers of the cities. Following the Mogul invasion the number of dervishes from Turkestan, *Buhara* and *Harezm* who sought refuge under the Seljuks was greatly increased. According to Prof. *Fuad Köprülü* the majority of the dervishes thus driven into Asia Minor were of the *Kalenderiye* sect, and this *Kalenderiye* movement he considers one of the most notable events in the religious history of Islam although as yet no critical investigation of the movement has been made.[2] In accordance with the tenets of their order these dervishes were committed to lives of constant travel and wandering.[3] It was fundamental with them that they withdraw from the world, and take no care for the morrow. Their tendency was toward an extreme Alevi theology, and their influence among the *Türkmen* tribes was great. With their Shii doctrines and their secret mysteries, they were also a factor in the political situation. In 1239 led on by a certain *Ishak Baba* who had established himself in a cave near Amasia and gained the reputation of a Veli or saint, dervishes in the Marash district revolted against the Seljuk Sultan, *Giyasuddin Keyhüsrev II.* Repeatedly they defeated Seljuk forces sent against them, gaining the ascendancy in the regions of Malatiya, Tokat and Amasia. *Türkmen* tribes, fighting with their women and children, devotedly fought for this revolt until it was finally suppressed, and the leaders hung.[4]

It is in this century with its outer prosperity during the

[1] This phase of the situation is discussed in *Köprülü's Türkiye Tarihi*, p.191ff. See also *Millı Tettebüler Mecmuası* article on *Türk Edebiyatının Menşei*, a discussion of the pre-Islamic practices in some measure preserved and passed on by the wandering Babas. See also *Ilk Mutesavvıflar*, pages 66, 67.

[2] See his article "*Anadoluda Islamiyet*" in *Edebiyat Fakultesi Mecmuası* No. 4, pages 297 ff. It is greatly to be regretted that *Fuad Bey* has not yet been able to fulfil the hope expressed in his note on page 298 to publish a monograph giving a detailed, critical study of the *Kalender's*. Such a study from his pen would throw fundamental light on all the subsequent religious movements of Asia Minor. See also Gibb's discussion in his History of Ottoman Poetry I, p. 357, n.1., showing the three uses of the word *Kalender*, in the original sense as described above, for any dervish who was distinguished for his excessive devotion and finally as a term of contempt for a wandering dervish of dissolute life. See also article Kalander in Encycl. of Islam.

[3] See *Anadoluda Islamiyet* No. 4, p. 298, n.2.

[4] This insurrection known as the Revolt of the *Babai's* is described in the articles *Anadoluda Islamiyet* in *Ed. Fak. Mec.* No. 4, pages 302 to 305, and in *Köprülü's "Ilk Mutesavvıflar"* pages 232-234. and Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman pages 58, 59. See also *Husam ed Din's Amasya Tarihi*, pages 369-377.

reign of *Alaeddin Keykubad*, with its constant wars, its mingling of populations and ideas, its uncertainty of life, particularly for the common people, that there grew up in Asia Minor movements which finally developed into the two orders that were destined to extend their influence all down through the Ottoman period, the *Mevlevi's*, a city order for ever inspired by the Persian poem, the *Mesnevi*, written by *Celaleddin Rumı*, and the Bektashis, an order of dervishes related always to the military and in close affiliation with vast numbers of the village population, an order whose literature was in the Turkish of the common people, and whose patron saint was a wandering *Türkmen Baba*.

2. *The Traditional Life of Haji Bektash Veli*

The history of the Bektashi Order rightfully begins with the life of its traditional founder, Haji Bektash Veli. We have already seen something of the political unrest and the intellectual and spiritual fermentation which resulted from warfare and from frontier conditions where Moslem and Christian peoples mingled, sometimes in opposition to each other, but as often drawn together against a common foe. In the last half of the century we saw the complete disintegration of the Seljuk Empire of *Rum*, and we noted that in such a period of political dissolution and realignment it was natural for strong leaders as well as the common people to turn away from the world with its disappointments and seek refuge in a life of devotion and faith trying to overcome the world. We have seen also that a " Gazi " attitude of conquest of this world for the sake of the faith co-operated with this devotional impulse to find expression for the latter in a militant, organized manner. The constantly recurring migrations from Central Asia brought not only nomadic Turkish tribes but spiritual leaders in the form of wandering holy men who had learned something of the mystic life from such a leader as *Ahmet Yesevı*. These leaders were able to gain a reputation for miraculous powers among the credulous people both Moslem and Christian. Haji Bektash Veli was such a leader. He appears to have grown to be the most famous of them all, at least among the uneducated peoples of the rural areas. We shall hope to examine in some detail the historical evidence for his life, but before doing so will find it an advantage to examine the man and his work as his followers have pictured him. We can only critically examine the historical Bektash if we know

him as tradition presents him, and in so knowing him we will enter into the point of view of millions of his followers.

As an aid to the memory and in accordance with a well nigh universal custom in the Moslem east the life of Haji Bektash Veli is summarized among Bektashis in four sentences, certain words of each sentence containing letters whose numerical value accounts for one fact or another in the chronology of the Saint's life. These four sentences are as follows[1]:

1. *Hazreti Pirin veladeti müruvvet,* "The birth of the Patron Saint, generosity of soul." The word *müruvvet* with its four Arabic letters

mim	40
re	200
ve	6
te	400

equals 646, which is accepted as the traditional date for his birth, 646 A.H. (1248 A.D.)

2. *Horasandan Ruma teşrif eder, reft.* He came from *Horasan* to *Rum*, the outgoing. *Reft* has value as follows:

re	200
fe	80
te	400
	680

680 A.H. (1281) is therefore taken as the date of his coming to Anatolia at the age of thirty-four.

3. *Müddeti ömrü Muhammad dır cemalı.* "The length of his life is the beauty of Muhammad." This time not the final word but the word Muhammad gives the number of years of his life.

mim	40
ha	8
mim	40
dal	4
	92

This number is therefore accepted as the number of years he lived.

[1] This chronology I first found written on the inside cover of a *Divan* of *Yunus Emre*, in the University of Istanbul Library, *Halis Efendi* collection No. 4762, evidently not an old copy. The same chronology was later given me by *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan, (See *Bektaşı Şairleri* pages 333-335) and is recorded in footnotes in the printed history of *Aşık Paşa Zade* Istanbul Edition, page 204, n. 3; 205, n. 2.

4. The date of his death 738 A.H. (A.D. 1337) is represented by the fourth sentence: *Bektaşiye tarih asvabı rihlet.* "The Bektashi date of death, very true." In this sentence both the word *Bektaşiye* and the words *asvabı rihlet* equal 738.

be	2	*elif*	1
kef	20	*sad*	90
te	400	*vav*	6
elif	1	*elif*	1
sin	300	*be*	2
be	10	*re*	200
he	5	*ha*	8
	——	*lam*	30
	738	*te*	400
			——
			738

The story of Haji Bektash Veli, as Bektashis tell and believe it, is to be found in the *Vilayetname* of *Haci Bektaş*[1] and in the *Vilayetname* of *Hacim Sultan.*[2] Both with slight variations trace Bektash's ancestry back to the prophet Muhammad. As given in the *Vilayetnâme* of Haji Bektash Veli the descent is as follows:—

Muhammad
Fatma the wife of Ali
Iman Hüseyin
,, *Zeynülabidin*
,, *Muhammad Bakir*
,, *Cafer Sadık*
,, *Musa Kâzim*
Seyit Ibrahim el Mucab
,, *Musa Sani*
,, *Sultan Ibrahim Sani*
Haji Bektash Veli

[1] Translated into German by Gross in 1927, Das Vilajetname des Haggi Bektasch, Leipsig. It should be kept constantly in mind that Turks of the present day are familiar with two *Vilayetname's,* which they often call the Small and the Large *Vilayetname's.* The Small *Vilayetname* has been printed in several editions and is really the *Makalât* or Sayings of Haji Bektash. The Large *Vilayetname* is the real Book of Saintship as the name indicates, a collection of stories about the life of Haji Bektash, and has never been printed except in the German translation by Gross.

[2] This book, a very rare one in Turkish, has been translated by Tschudi, Das Vilajetname des Hadschim Sultan, Berlin, 1914. The German edition contains a copy of the Turkish text as well as the German Translation.

His father, therefore, is shown to be *Seyit Sultan Ibrahim*, who was ruler of a state in *Horasan*. When born, the future saint was given the name Bektash, which means "companion in rank," or "an equal with a prince."[1] As a babe in the cradle he was heard to recite the word of testimony to God's unity. At the age of four years he was assigned for instruction to a certain *Lokman Perende* who was one of the apostles[2] of *Ahmet Yesevi*, the most famous Turkish saint of Central Asia. Once when Lokman entered the school-room he saw two figures teaching the Kuran to Bektash. On being questioned by his teacher, Bektash replied that the one on his right was "my ancestor Muhammad Mustafa, upon him be supplication and peace," and the one on his left was "the pole of saintship, the cup-bearer of *Kevser*, the lion of the lord, the lord of the worlds, the commander of believers *Ali el Mürteza*." The one was teaching him external science, the other esoteric learning, both using the Kuran. It was from Ali that Bektash claimed to have received the power to work miracles. Also from Ali was granted the "sign," a luminous green spot in the palm of his hand and a similar spot on his forehead. One day when Lokman expressed a wish for water with which to perform the ablution Bektash prayed and immediately water began to flow right at hand. Lokman was surprised and exclaimed "*Ya Hünkâr*,"[3] "Oh, Lord, Master." And after that he was called "*Bektaş Hünkâr*" and the title has continued in use until the present day.

The other title habitually used of Bektash, haji or pilgrim, came about in this way. His teacher, Lokman, had gone to Mecca on the pilgrimage required of all followers of Muhammad. After doing the circumambulation about the *Kâbe*, he went out to Mt. Arafat. Standing there with his companions he remarked that it was the day before *Kurban Bayram*[4] and that those back home must be even then busy with their cooking. Bektash *Hünkâr* was miraculously made aware of this remark and in a state of ecstasy brought him in an instant a tray of food. Lokman told of this and Bektash was consequently given the title Haji, for by a miracle he had been to Mecca.

By miracles he proved his superiority to all his fellow students.

[1] Redhouse's Dictionary.

[2] *Halife*, specially appointed successor.

[3] Understood as derived from the Persian word *Hudavendgar*, meaning lord or master (See Redhouse and *Kamusu Türki*).

[4] Sacrifice Festival, one of the two great religious festivals of the Muhammadan year, the special feature of this festival being the sacrifice of sheep which are eaten by the family and distributed to the poor.

So devoted was he to prayer and worship that he refused the throne of his father when that was pressed upon him.[1] The *Vilayetname* of Haji Bektash then continues with a long poem telling of the conquest of the people of Bedahshan. In this story perhaps the most notable thing was that in his effort to convert the people and to keep them converted resort was made to the device of calling down plagues. Darkness, a drought, and finally a destroying dragon were employed until at last the people believed, and in their enthusiasm sought to make him Sultan. He refused this opportunity also, and returned to the side of the great teacher, *Ahmet Yesevı* who had sent him on the adventure. It was again at the command of *Ahmet Yesevı* that Haji Bektash *Hünkâr* set out for *Rum*, the ancient name given by Muhammadans to Asia Minor. He was told that the region of *Soluca Kara Üyük* was to be given to him. Snatching a fire brand of mulberry wood from a fire he hurled it through the air as a message to the dervishes already in *Rum* to tell them of his coming. The fire brand was received by *Ahmet Sultan*, a keeper of mulberry trees, living near Konia, and was planted in front of what was to be Bektash's threshold, where it immediately sprouted and grew into a tree which is said in the *Vilayetname* to be still burning at its upper tip.[2] On his travels miracles attended his every step. Two lions attacked him and were turned into stone. Coming to a river accompanied by a crowd the fish came up out of the water and in eloquent language gave him greeting. He first visited Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Aleppo, then entering *Rum* he went to Aintab, Elbistan and Cesarea. Dervishes, fearing that he would displace them, bound up the border to keep him out. Jumping, he ascended to the top of the very throne of God where angels met him bearing a "*Kubbei elif*"[3] made of light. He now

[1] In this refusal of the throne there seems to be an influence from the similar story of *Ibrahim Ethem* who also is greatly honoured in Bektashi lore as "the saint who refused the throne."

[2] It was believed within recent years that the bark from what was considered to be this tree was efficacious in the healing of disease. The tree stood in front of the tomb of *Balım Sultan*. The marks of knives having been applied to the bark are reported by visitors to show how many followers placed real faith in this tradition. See article *Haci Bektaş Tekkesi* in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. 2, page 379.

[3] One of the three head-pieces worn by Bektashis. This piece, usually called the *Elifi tac*, is, according to the *Vilayetname*, one of several articles given by Gabriel at God's command to Muhammad who turned them over to Ali together with a knowledge of the mystic rites. From Ali they were passed down through certain of the Imams to *Ahmet Yesevı* in whose convent they were preserved until at Haji Bektash *Hünkâr's* final investiture with authority they were by spiritual powers moved from their places and put before Bektash, the "*Elifi*

changed his shape into that of a dove and descended to the earth alighting on a rock at *Soluca Kara Üyük*. An apostle *Beyazit Bistami* came in the form of a falcon and discovered the dove who changed into a man and seized the falcon. The falcon was then sent as a messenger to invite the dervishes to come to Haji Bektash. It was only after a number of miracles had been wrought and especially after a green scroll bearing the divine commission descended from heaven that the dervishes were finally persuaded of his superior powers and authority. After a lengthy series of miracles he approached a woman named *Kadıncık* who was washing at a fountain. He pleaded hunger, whereupon she ran home and procured for him all the bread and oil she had for her own household. The next morning her jar of oil was full again. It was to this *Kadıncık* that later two children were born as a result of having, according to her custom, drunk the water with which Haji Bektash had performed the ablution, this time blood from his nose having been mixed with it.

Among the many other miracle stories that are told in the Vilayetname three are of special significance because of their figuring in charts and illustrations used to-day on Bektashi walls, or because of their influence on Bektashi beliefs of the present day. On one occasion, as he was travelling, he came to people who were winnowing their grain. They depreciated his power, and he to convince them turned their grain into stone.[1] When visiting in Albania in October, 1933, the head of the Bektashis of Albania, *Niyazi Dede*, showed me some of these grains of wheat which had been turned into stone. As he expressed it, " This is a story one would never believe, unless he could see the fact with his own eyes. When he actually sees the stone grains, however, there is nothing to do but believe." When they complained that their grain was of no more use he worked a further miracle by giving them grain which if eaten

tac" being placed on his head by unseen hands (*Vilayetname*, MS. copy in my private library. Leaves 16 and 27). The articles thus transmitted included the *Elifi tac*, the *hırka* or cloak, the *çırağ* or candle, the table, the banner and the prayer rug. The *Elifi tac* is a conical high cap without pleats except on two sides (see illustration No. 26 in chapter on Symbols.) When visiting Albania in Oct. 1933, *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan told me that when, as he talks with them, people show doubt of the spiritual presence everywhere of Haji Bektash he proves his point by going to an oil lamp and turning up the wick. As he did so for me his point became instantly clear, for the light assumed the exact shape of the " *Elifi tac*." " So with all lights everywhere," the Baba said, " speaking their testimony to Haji Bektash."

[1] My MS. copy of the *Vilayetname*, leaf 52.

would cause a barren woman to conceive. A grain of lentil[1] is eaten if a girl is desired and a grain of wheat if a boy is wanted. The following story is told in the *Vilayetname*[2] and was related to me in conversation by *Niyazi Dede* in Albania ; that a sceptical person, standing by scoffed at the idea of anything happening inside one because of eating a grain of wheat. He supported his scepticism by eating two grains of wheat himself. To his chagrin he found that conception had taken place, and in his distress he appealed to the Saint. Haji Bektash ordered a Caesarian operation which resulted in two boys being brought into the world. The *Vilayetname* adds that the descendants of these, called Sons of the Wheat, (*Bugday Oğulları*) are still well known in the neighbourhood of Ankara. In Albania this tradition still persists, and I was told that it is not uncommon for a woman who wants a child to go to her Baba, receive from him the wheat or the lentil grain, supposedly remaining from Bektashi's day, and eat them in order to conceive. My informant, an educated young man of high family, all of whose relatives are connected with the Bektashis, told me that his mother, who had had several girls, bore him after eating one of these wheat grains.

The third miracle is one of the most famous in Bektashi tradition. It occurred when *Seyit Mahmut Hayran* of *Ak Şehir*, hearing of Haji Bektash, went forth to meet him. To show his own power when he went out from *Ak Şehir* to meet Haji Bektash, he mounted a lion, using a serpent for a whip, and took with him three hundred mollas or theological students. Bektash, not to be out-done, spread his prayer-rug on a great rock, standing like a wall in the neighbourhood, and commanded the rock to move. As the two holy men met, Haji Bektash remarked that it was relatively easy to mount and drive an animal but to make a lifeless rock walk was indeed a miracle. The two dismounted and talked together, leaving the rock standing where it may still be seen to-day.[3]

[1] In Albania the oral tradition says rye, *çavdar*. My *Vilayetname* says *mercimek*.

[2] My MS. copy of the *Vilayetname*, leaf 53.

[3] An interesting relationship between the traditional Haji Bektash and Christians, illustrating one means of propaganda by which in early days doubtless Christians were drawn into the order, is indicated by the identification of Haji Bektash with St. Charalambos. An educated Albanian told me that the Greeks call Haji Bektash St. Charalambos. Once, he said, there was a plague, and St. Charalambos, being appealed to, diverted the plague. A century or more later the same thing happened when Haji Bektash came, so the Christians recognized him as St. Charalambos returned. (See Hasluck's discussion of this connection, pages 83, 84.)

The *Vilayetname* ends with the sending abroad of five apostles. In all, 36,000 apostles were sent out as missionaries, 360 staying with the Saint. But five, for whom he entertained special love are mentioned by name. Each was given an area to which he was to go after Bektash's death. *Seyit Cemal Sultan* went out toward the Mediterranean and his son, *Aslı Doğan*, crossed the Dardanelles into Europe. *Sarı Ismail Sultan* went to Menteshe in the south-western corner of Asia Minor. *Hacim Sultan* was sent into the country of the *Germiyans* around *Kütahya*. *Baba Resul* was sent to *Altın Taş* (south-east of *Kütahya*) and *Pirab Sultan* was sent to Konia.

This story of Haji Bektash, emphasizing as it does his wonder-working powers, is the traditional picture of the Patron Saint, accepted by millions as entirely true. Where, in the case of the many educated Bektashis of modern days, the element of historicity is denied, the stories remain as familiar folk-lore from which references and illustrations are drawn.

3. *The Historical Life of Haji Bektash*

To draw from such a picture of what to the modern mind appears utterly impossible, a true idea of the Saint is not easy. The earliest reference to Haji Bektash known to the writer occurs in 695 A.H. (A.D. 1295). *Hilmi Ziya Bey* writing in *Mihrap*,[1] July number, 1924, refers to a *vakfiye*[2] dated 691 (A.D. 1291) and containing a mention of Haji Bektash preceded by the word "*merhum.*" *Hilmi Ziya* argues that this word does not necessarily mean "deceased," although it invariably does mean that to-day especially when used of one lately deceased. Therefore, he argues, the use of this word cannot be taken as a proof of Haji Bektash's death before that date.[3] Unfortunately, *Hilmi*

[1] Sene 1, sayi 15, 16, page 515. To understand the material which follows in this study and its relation to earlier studies of the Bektashis it should be remembered that nearly all of the historical references here used have come to light since Jacob's day and even since Hasluck completed his important studies, Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans, (see pp. 483-493, 501, 502, etc.) Hasluck's failure to discover references to the Bektashis and to their connection with the Janissaries earlier than about 1591 is due also to his dependence on European works or translations into European languages. *Evliya Çelebi* he knew only in the English translation of the first two volumes. *Aşık Paşa Zade's* history is not known to him except in the translation of a single paragraph by Brown. *Eflaki* is known only in the abbreviated translation by Redhouse who omits the reference to Haji Bektash. *Uruc Bey*, *Hatip Oğlu* have never been translated, and were not generally known even by Oriental scholars until after 1920.

[2] A *Vakfiye* or *Vakıfname* is a document deeding property as a sacred foundation.

[3] For confirmation of *Hilmi Ziya Bey's* theory see *Kamusu Türkı*.

Ziya Bey does not mention the source of his information. It appears probable, however, that he is referring to a *vakfiye* discovered by *Ali Emiri Efendi* and reported in his magazine *Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*.[1] According to *Ali Emiri Efendi*, to whose researches and collection of books in the public library bearing his name scholars owe much, a *vakfiye* dated 695 (1295) is the deed of a certain *Şeyh Suleyman Veli* who in establishing a *zaviye* near *Kır Şehir* dedicated certain properties " touching on the lands of '*Merhum* Haji Bektash Veli.' " To *Ali Emiri Efendi* this use of the word " *merhum* " is proof that Haji Bektash Veli was a person known to all of that neighbourhood and deceased before that date.

The next mention of Bektash is a *vakfiye* bearing the date 697 (1297).[2] In this document occur the following words. " And that of all arable fields (*mezraat*) in the district (*nahiye*) of El Haj-Bektash, may his mystery[3] be blessed (*Kuddisa Sırruhu*) and the village (*Kariye*) called *Geyce Kapu* in the district of *Kukur*, and the arable fields called *Samavlı*, and the arable fields called *Suz Kalacak*.

" And that of all the village and arable fields which are in the district of El Haj Bektash, may his mystery be blessed, (*Kuddisa Sırruhu*), and the village called *Geyce Kapucak, etc.*"

Here we have two additional pieces of evidence which according to Turkish usage can only mean that a man named Haji or El Haj Bektash had died previous to the year 697 (1297). A district has been named after him. Evidently, as we shall see Ali Emiri Efendi points out, the village of *Soluca Kara Üyük* had had its name changed to that of the " village, or district, of Haji Bektash." This further establishes the historicity of Haci Bektash, and while not perhaps, according to Turkish custom positively proving, yet further corroborating the theory that he had died prior to this date.

In the second place the familiar formula *Kuddisa Sırruhu* is one used in Turkish practice only of saints not living, conclusively confirming the evidence that Haji Bektash had died prior to 697 (1297).

A third document still further strengthens this evidence.

[1] Number 20, page 670, note 2.
[2] Istanbul *Evkaf Müdüriyeti; Anadolu defter*, vol. 9, page 31.
[3] Since in the mystical literature of Islam generally the word *sırr* is used in the sense of an inner state of consciousness it will be translated in this study by the word " mystery," when it means a " hidden experience of the heart "; and by the word " secret " when it simply signifies knowledge concealed from others.

A *vakfiye* of *Ahi Evran* dated 706 (1306) contains a reference to the township (*Kaza*) of Haji Bektash, "although in Haji Bektash's time the name of the place was *Kara Hüyük*.[1]"

It is perhaps a point in confirmation of the fact that the *Vilayetname* contains many actual historical hints that not only does *Ahi Evran* appear as an actual personage of that era but *Hacim Sultan* does also and in the exact locality where, according to the *Vilayetname*, *Hacim Sultan* was sent. In the district of *Ushak* there is a village called *Hacim Sultan Village* and in the year 721[2] (1321) *Yakup Bey*, the ruler of the Germiyan dynasty, dedicated a property to the *zaviye*, or convent cell, of *Hacim Sultan*.

The next historical reference to Bektash known to the writer occurs in *Eflaki's Menakıb ul arifin*,[3] a collection of stories about the great *Mevlevi* patron saint, *Celaleddin Rumi*, who died in 1272. *Eflaki's* book was written between the years 1318 and 1353. In this early book there is the story of a Haji Bektash of *Horasan* who was a mystic of enlightened heart, but a man who had not felt constrained to follow the law as given by the prophet. In this account given by a disciple of the great *Celaleddin*, Haji Bektash is represented as having been made jealous by the stir caused by his rival religious teacher. He consequently sent one of his inspectors, *Şeyh Ishak* to inquire why, if he has found or attained to the goal of his mystic search, he is not satisfied with that; or if he has not attained, why

[1] *Ali Emiri Efendi's Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*, No. 20, pages 466 ff. *Ali Emiri* in his article calls attention to the fact that *Ahi Evran* is mentioned in the *Vilayetname* of Haji Bektash (Gross, page 87). On one occasion he visits Haji Bektash. Sitting by the edge of a brook they try to talk, but the frogs disturb their conversation. Haji Bektash calls upon the frogs to be silent "and to this day it is said the frogs don't peep there." *Ali Emiri Efendi*, while accountant in the government office in *Kır Şehir*, visited the locality. He finds the tradition still believed by the people. But he himself hears a frog croak. He calls to him a boy living in the neighbourhood and says that he has heard a frog. The boy appears astonished and says as explanation, "Oh well, that frog is a stranger here." It hadn't yet learned the local customs! The full text of *Ahi Evran's vakfiye* is given in *M. Cevdet's* study of the *Ahi* fraternity written in Arabic as a supplement to a chapter in the Travels of Ibn Batuta, and bearing the French title "L'Education et l'organization des Gens administratifs et industriels en Asie Mineure et Syrie du XIIme siècle jusqu'à notre temps." Istanbul, 1932, pp. 280-282.

[2] *Ismail Hakkı Bey's Kütahya Şehri*, p. 65, n. 1. In the copies of this *vakfiye* in the *Evkaf* Offices in *Afyon Karahisar*, *Kütahya* and Istanbul there are the words "*Yakup Bey ibn Mehmet Bey*" as the name of the donor. The family genealogy, however, shows no such person, although there is a *Yakup II* who is the grandson of a *Mehmet* and whose dates are a hundred years later. My efforts to secure an accurate copying of the original *vakfiye* have been unsuccessful.

[3] See French translation by Huart, Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs, Paris, 1918, Vol. I, pages 296, 297.

he is stirring up a tumult among the people. *Şeyh Ishak* arrived just as the followers of *Celaleddin*[1] were commencing their service of music and dance. At the very moment of his entry, which was made reverently kissing the threshold, *Celaleddin* commenced the recitation of a poem which was worded as if asking the newcomer the very question which the investigator had intended to ask him.

" If you have not yet seen the Friend, why do you not search for him ? If you have attained to him, why are you agitated ? "

" Sit down quietly, for it is a wonderful thing ; it is you who are to be wondered at not to desire such a marvel."

The visiting dervish wrote down these words, making note of the date, for they seemed to indicate the supernatural power of the Master at Konia. On his return he rendered his report and Haji Bektash saw that the reciting of this poem coincided in time exactly with an experience he had had when *Celaleddin* had appeared to him in the form of a roaring lion, had seized him by the throat and only released him after he had humbled himself and begged for mercy. Haji Bektash is then represented as testifying to the power and grandeur beyond imagination both of the insight and the eloquence of *Celaleddin*.

In this story, related by the follower of a rival order shortly after the year 1300, Bektash is shown as a celebrated mystic from Horasan known as a Haji or pilgrim to Mecca, a man with a large following of dervishes and recognized even by the followers of *Celaleddin* as a rival spiritual leader. In historically placing Bektash, perhaps the most important item in the anecdote has to do with the name by which he is supposed to be called. Huart's translation makes it appear that Haji Bektash is called by his followers *Baba Rasoulallah*, the father sent of God. But Prof Köprülü shows[2] that this is a mistranslation. The passage should read " Haji Bektash of *Horasan* who was an apostle (*halife*) of one called *Baba Resul* who had made his appearance in Asia Minor and whom his people called *Baba Resul Allah*." Quoting from *Ibni Bibi*, *Köprülü* shows that this title is a name used for *Ishak Baba*, the leader of the so-called Revolt of the

[1] The followers of *Celaleddin* came later to be called the *Mevlevi's*, the urban order of dervishes already referred to on page 38. Their characteristic form of worship is a dance to the time of music on drum and reed pipe (*ney* or *nay*). It is for this reason they are called the Dancing or Whirling Dervishes. They differ from the Bektashis among other ways in admitting visitors, including Christians, to their *Zikr*, or service of worship.

[2] *Anadoluda Islamiyet, Edebiyat Fakultesi Mecmuası*, 1338 (1922), No. 4, p. 307, note 1. See also *Abdulbaki Gölpinarlı's* Yunus Emre, pp. 5, 6.

Babai.[1] He concludes that this is complete proof that Haji Bektash was historically one of the followers of this famous leader whose following we know was widespread in Central Asia Minor and whose revolt was suppressed under *Keyhusrev II* in 637 (1239).

The next important evidence as to the historic life of Haji Bektash comes in 1409. In that year a Turkish poet *Hatip Oğlu*[2] completed a metrical translation of an Arabic book attributed to Haji Bektash himself. The translator says his patron saint, having written in Arabic, is not therefore to be understood by all. Therefore he has undertaken a translation into Turkish. The contents of this metrical translation which bears the name, "This book, the sayings of Haji Bektash *El Horasanı*, God bless his dear spirit," are practically identical with the contents of a prose translation made by *Sadeddin* which have often been printed in Turkish under the name *Vilayetname.*[3] The book contains a discussion of the four gates, the *Şeriat* or religious law, the *Tarikat* or mystic way, the *Marifet* or mystic gnosis, and the *Hakikat* or realization in experience of ultimate reality. In the account of the mystic way there is a story of Jesus and his going for a walk. He comes to the foot of a mountain where there is a spring. Drinking from the spring he finds the water bitter. The mountain at the same time begins to tremble, and in answer to Jesus' question as to the cause of the bitter taste in the water and of the trembling, the mountain replies that in the time of Moses a young man had come to this place and recited the verse. (Kuran 2 : 22, "Fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones and which is prepared for the infidels.") The mountain then calls on Jesus to pray, for his praying is always acceptable to God. Jesus prays and immediately the mountain

[1] See above, page 32.

[2] For such details of the poet's life as are known see *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Vol. 2, 1926, p. 494. This article with a few added notes was reprinted in *Turk Dili ve Edebiyatı*, Prof. K. M. *Fuat*, 1934. The only copy known to-day of the Turkish translation of the *Makalât* by *Hatip Oğlu* was in the *Emniyet Umumiye Kütüphanesi* catalogued under the number 775. A copy of this was taken by *Hilmi Ziya Bey*. A further copy was made by Prof. *Köprülü*, through the kindness of whom I have been able to procure a photostat reproduction for my own collection of Bektashiana. It is fortunate that these three copies exist, for the original in the Emniyet Library cannot be found to-day. For references to *Hatip Oğlu's* translation see *Hilmi Ziya's* article in *Mihrap*, July, 1340 (1924), Nos. 15, 16, page 517; *Baha Sait* in *Türk Yurdu*, Sept., 1926, No. 21, Vol. 4, page 203, and *Köprülü's Anadoluda Islamiyet* in *Ed. Fak. Mec.*, 1338, No. 5, page 406, nl. *Köprülü's* article contains a discussion of both the prose and the metrical translations of the *Makalât*.

[3] See above, page 35, n. 1. for the distinction drawn between the two *vilayetnames*.

ceases its trembling and the bitter water becomes sweet. Then the mountain continues its story of the youth who in the time of Israel came out to the mountain, recited the verse quoted above and began weeping for the day when he might behold Muhammad or his people. Now the Youth's weeping has ceased.[1] The young man is interpreted by Bektashis to be Ali,[2] and Jesus is thus shown to have aided Ali by his acceptable prayer, and to have been himself warned away from all worldliness.

The rhymed version of *Hatip Oğlu* indicates a strong love on the part of Haji Bektash for the family of the Prophet, for Ali and for the Twelve Imams. The two Shii principles of "*tevellâ*" and "*teberrâ*," love for those who love the holy family, and enmity for those who are its enemies, are openly expressed.[3] The spiritual hierarchy of the three, the seven and the forty[4] is mentioned; the four gates are related to the four elements and in other ways present-day Bektashi beliefs, which will be more fully described in the chapter on Doctrines and Beliefs, are shown to be doctrines believed by the year 1400 to have been actually taught by Haji Bektash himself.[5]

Among the Turkish historians of the fifteenth century there are two who mention Haji Bektash and his followers. *Aşık Paşa Zade*, who lived in the neighbourhood of Haji Bektash Village from the early years of the fifteenth century, completed in 1502, toward the end of his very long life, a history which in 1332 (1916) was printed by the Department of Public Instruction,[6] another edition by Giese being printed in Leipsig in 1928. According to the testimony contained in this history Haji Bektash came from *Horasan* with a brother named *Menteş*. They came first to Sivas; from there they went to *Baba Ilyas*[7]; then to *Kır Şehir*; from there to Cesarea; and then on to *Kara Yol*.[8]

[1] The prose version gives the story thus. The rhymed version varies to the extent of having the mountain itself be the weeper.

[2] So interpreted in conversation by *Zylfo Baba* of the Turan tekke near Korche in Albania.

[3] Page 5, lines 7 and 8.

[4] Page 7, line 7.

[5] *Hilmi Ziya Bey* in *Mihrap*, Nos. 15, 16, page 517, also mentions a *Vilayet-name* attributed directly to Haji Bektash formerly in the library of the central tekke at Haji Bektash village dated 888 (1484). Although the books from this original library are now supposed to be in the Library of the Department of Public Instruction in Ankara I have been unable to find this particular copy.

[6] The Giese edition is considered more trustworthy. With reference to the Bektashis the Istanbul edition contains two small sections not included in Giese. The translation in Brown's *Dervishes*, p. 142 (Rose, 164-167), is somewhat different from either of the printed Turkish texts.

[7] *Baba Ilyas* is the early name for *Baba Ishak*, whose revolt is mentioned above. See *Amasya Tarihi*, Vol. II, p. 374.

[8] Evidently *Soluca Kara Üyük*, which was later called Haji Bektash Village.

Although not a direct propagandist himself as described in this book, he taught a certain *Hatun Ana*, evidently the *Kadıncık* of the *Vilayetname*, and through her his teachings were handed down to disciples. Evidently by the year 1500 the tradition that the Janissaries received their headpiece from the Bektashis was well understood, for *Aşık Paşa Zade* replies to that very question, stating that it is the other way around. A certain *Abdal Musa*, who was a disciple of *Hatun Ana*, in the time of *Orhan* went to war in company with Janissary soldiers from one of whom he asked and received a hat or felt helmet. On being asked about this he said: "They call this the *elif*." "By God," *Aşık Paşa Zade* exclaims, "this is the truth about their *tac's*."[1] *Aşık Paşa Zade* ends the passage with another vehement denial that Haji Bektash had had any personal relations with the Family of Osman. Anyone who says so is lying, the historian asserts. The Janissaries came into being, he says in this way[2]: In the reign of *Murat Han* (1359–1389) a man from Karaman named *Kara Rustem* suggested to the Military Judge (*Kaziasker*) *Çendereli Halil*, that according to the law of God one out of five of the prisoners taken in war belongs to the ruler. The Judge reported this to *Murat Han* who ordered that this be carried out. These two men then brought the ruler's orders to a certain commander *Evrenos*[3] who had captured *Ipsala*, near Adrianople. *Evrenos* appointed a judge who selected out in this way a great quantity of prisoners who were brought to *Murat Han*. On *Halil's* suggestion they were given to Turks who taught them Turkish. They stayed with the Turks for some years and became Moslems. Then they were brought to the royal gate, were given a white headpiece, and called *Yeni Çeri*, new troops.

Except in one important particular this account of the formation of the Janissaries and the relation of Haji Bektash to them is confirmed by another fifteenth century historian, *Uruc Bey*.[4] According to this historian, the brother of *Orhan*,

[1] *Aşık Paşa Zade Tarihi*, Istanbul ed., p. 206, Giese, p. 201. *Tac* means crown and is the word used by Bektashis for their headpiece. In Giese's edition the headpiece is called a *Bükme tac*, folded crown. The reference here is to the *Elifi Tac* referred to above on p. 37 n. 3.

[2] Ibid. Giese 50, Istanbul Edition 54.

[3] A military commander famous in Ottoman History. Cf. Art. Ewrenos in Enc. of Islam.

[4] See *Tevarihi Ali Osman*, containing copies of two texts of *Uruc Bey's* history, edited by Franz Babinger, Hannover, 1925. The title in Babinger's edition describes the author as *Uruc ben Adil Elkazzaz Katip el Edirnevi*. It has been objected by Dr. Wittek that a *kazzaz* or silk-weaver could not possibly

Ali Paşa, turned from the way of political leadership to the religious way and became a dervish.[1] One day as he was talking with *Orhan* he called his brother's attention to the fact that the soldiers under his command were now numerous and should have some distinguishing mark. "Let all the rest of the soldiers wear red headpieces[2] but let those immediately connected with the ruler wear white headgear, that it may be to the world a sign of his soldiers." *Orhan* accepted this and sent to Haji Bektash in Amasya for permission and blessing to wear the new gear. First *Orhan* himself wore it, then his followers, thus making it possible for one in battle to recognize another. Since Haji Bektash himself is seen to have died before 1295, the statement of *Uruc Bey* cannot be accepted here as literally true. If, however, instead of Haji Bektash himself personally, we understand a follower of his, recognized as speaking with his authority, the story becomes immediately and fully plausible. The sending to a dervish *Şeyh* for an "*icazet*" or "permission and approval with blessing" is entirely natural according to the custom and mentality of that day. As to-day in certain circles men need the authority of a diploma or degree or certificate, so in that day a change of custom, the official donning of a new costume, required a ceremony of blessing and approval, from a popular religious leader. It would seem possible from this story that *Ali Paşa* was a Bektashi. Whether the *Elifi Tac* of the Bektashis was adopted by the soldiers of *Orhan* or the Bektashis later came to use what the official soldiers wore as *Aşık Paşa Zade* asserts seems to be a puzzle impossible to solve. The account as interpreted here, at least serves, both to reconcile the fact of Haji Bektash's early death with the report current from the earliest days that there was some relationship between Haji Bektash and the headpiece of the Ottoman soldiers.

Uruc Bey continues by asserting that the Janissaries had their beginning between the years 763 and 766[3] (1361–1364) in the reign of *Murat Han*. His account squares so completely with *Aşık Paşa Zade's* that there seems to be either the influence

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be also a Bey, and that therefore this history is that of an unknown 15th cent. historian, and cannot be the work of the *Uruc Bey* mentioned by early Turkish writers.

[1] *Uruc* Bey, pages 15 and 89.

[2] Suggesting a relationship with the *Kızıl-baş* or Red Heads, the village type of sectarian intimately associated with the Bektashi Order.

[3] See page 93, reference to an eclipse in 763, preceding the formation of the Janissaries, and page 22, a reference to the date 766 at some time following the formation of the Janissaries.

of one on the other or else that the account as given was well known and generally accepted as true in the fifteenth century.[1] In *Uruc's* account as well as in *Aşık Paşa Zade's, Kara Rustem,*[2] a man from Karaman suggests to *Çendereli Kara Halil*, the *Kaziasker*, that their commander is at present losing what should of right belong to him. One-fifth of all plunder should go to the ruler. *Murat Han* approves of this because it is the divine law. *Kara Rustem* then settles in Gallipoli. As in the account of *Aşık Paşa Zade*, a third officer named *Gazi Evrenos* is called in to help carry out the order. After every raid one-fifth of the prisoners are taken and are sent to live among Turkish people in Anatolia. They plough the fields and learn Turkish. After four years they are brought to *Murat Han*, and recruited into his army. The white headpiece is put on them and their corps is named the *Yeni Çeri*.

The final evidence for the historical life of Haji Bektash is from the *Vilayetname* itself. The collection of wonder stories is a naïve collection. With the exception of certain additions such as the story of *Murat Han* and his determination to build a *türbe* over the grave of Haji Bektash,[3] and the story of Bektash's relation to *Osman*,[4] which varies markedly in literary style from the other parts of the *Vilayetname*, the book bears no mark of having been written in a later era. Except for the portions indicated which appear to have been added to prove a connection with the royal house of *Osman*, the very absence of later accepted doctrines indicates that the collection had its origin prior to 1400. Running through the stories especially of the events that follow on Bektash's entry into Anatolia are real names of geographical places and real historic characters. We have seen that *Ahi Evran* and *Şeyh Suleyman* were historic characters.[5] *Hacim Sultan*, one of Bektash's apostles, has been traced to the exact locality to which in the *Vilayetname* he is sent.[6] The constant references in the *Vilayetname* to *Alaeddin* are perhaps no indication of date in themselves, for in popular works *Alaeddin* is frequently the name given to each Seljuk Sultan. Other evidence, however, suggests that the period

[1] The fact that *Uruc's* account differs in some particulars, especially as to the ultimate origin of the headpiece seems to confirm the latter theory.

[2] Page 93.

[3] Leaf 147 in my MS. copy of the *Vilayetname*; p. 151 in Gross' translation.

[4] Leaves 121 to 127 in my MS. copy; pages 133-139 in Gross.

[5] See above, pages 42, 41.

[6] Leaves 68B and 108B.

involved covers at least a part of the reign of *Alaeddin* the Great, 1219–1236, and the ten or fifteen years following. At least twice the Sultan of the period is described as "*Alaeddin* who is *Keyhusrev*, the son of *Kılıc Arslan*." A slight miscopying of a single letter would have made this the correct name "*Alaeddin*, the son of *Keyhusrev* the son of *Kılıc Arslan*." In these references the extent of the Seljuk state reaching to the borders of Persia suggests the same period. The Caliph *Abbas* is mentioned, a possible reference to *El Nasireddin Allah* called *Abu Abbas Ahmet* whose dates 1180 to 1225 coincide in part with those of *Alaeddin*.[1] Echoes of the Mongul invasion run through the *Vilayetname*. The Tartars are described as Christians, a confirmation of the report which sent Friar William on his journey to the Mongols of Asia.[2] The capture of Bagdad with the execution of the Caliph is mentioned, an event which occurred in 1258, and the coming of the Mongols into Anatolia in the years following is described. Bektash is represented as sending a messenger to the Mongol ruler in an effort to convert him. The Mongol ruler called *Kuluhan*, evidently meaning *Kuyuk*, (1246–1251) calls in a Christian priest.[3] Since it is known that *Kuyuk* had a Christian chapel before his tent and his two chief ministers were Christians,[4] there is the suggestion that we are dealing with historical material.

On the ritualistic side the *Vilayetname* is of very special interest. Later ritual such as was introduced by *Balım Sultan* shortly after 1500 appears to have no mention, far less is there any touch of Hurufi influence such as may have entered by the middle of the fifteenth century. There is, however, constant reference to shaving which we know was the practice among the early *Kalender's*,[5] with whom Bektash doubtless had relations. Bektash is represented as one who is criticised for not saying his *namaz* or formal prayers in public,[6] a reputation which may account for *Eflaki's* statement, that though a man of enlightened heart, he was not fully obedient to the religious law.[7]

Some form of ritual was evidently used and was of a secret nature, for on one occasion the remark is made "The rites

[1] Leaf 108 in my MS. copy.
[2] My MS. copy, leaf 109. See Contemporaries of Marco Polo.
[3] My MS. copy, leaf 110.
[4] Britannica XI, Article, Mongols, p. 713.
[5] *Köprülü's Türkiye Tarihi*, page 199.
[6] *Vilayetname*, my MS. copy, leaf 95.
[7] See above, page 42.

whatever they were, were observed," *erkan ne ise görüldü.*[1] Evidently it was the custom to bring in tables afterward and to serve honey or a thick juice like honey and sour curds, women, especially *Kadıncık,* participating as well as men.[2] Obedience to the saint is taught as of importance equal to confession of faith in God and the prophet.[3] Various terms, later a part of Bektashi ritual and tradition, are already in use. *Dem,* or drinking, presumably of the honey-like sherbet; and *Sema,* the dance, are already in vogue. The *telkin* or secret instruction is a part of the ritual at least by the time the section dealing with *Osman* was added.[4] Followers are called *Muhipler.*[5] The *Elifi Tac* is mentioned again and again,[6] and once it is specifically stated that the Bektashis have two headpieces, the *Elifi Tac* and the *Hüseyni Tac.*[7] The *çırağ,* or candle, so important in the later ritual, is mentioned and *Pirab Sultan,* one of Bektash's apostles is called the *çırağcı*[8] or candle-lighter. In speaking of his disciples the expression is used to "awaken their candles," *çırağ uyandırmak.*[9] As will be seen in the section on practices of the order all these terms and ideas are to continue to be a part of the very life of the order down to to-day. Although it is not possible to prove that all these originated with Haji Bektash himself it does seem probable that something at least of the later ritual began with him and that at least by 1400 the fundamental ideas were already a part of the whole order, widespread among the village groups as well as in the specifically Bektashi organization.

From this brief study of Bektash's life it would seem to be reasonably clear that a man named Haji Bektash came to Asia Minor in the thirteenth century; settled in the neighbourhood of *Kır Şehir* in the village later called by his name; was himself a part of a general movement of *Türkmen babas* carrying on under a guise of fairly orthodox Islam both social and religious practices of earlier Turkish life, combined with a system of mysticism influenced by the Central Asian Sufi, *Ahmet Yesevi;* gradually won for himself a general recognition among these *Türkmen* tribes as the leading Saint of the times; won and initiated definite followers; taught the beginnings of a simple

[1] *Vilayetname,* my MS. copy, leaf 56.
[2] *Vilayetname,* my MS. copy, leaf 55, 56.
[3] *Vilayetname,* my MS. copy, leaf 116.
[4] *Vilayetname,* my MS. copy, leaf 125B.
[5] Ibid., l., 56.
[6] Ibid., l., 31, 35, 133.
[7] Ibid., l., 35.
[8] Ibid., l., 127.
[9] Ibid., l., 127.

ritual including the use of the candle, and a ceremonial meal and dance ; wore himself and gave his followers a characteristic headpiece; and before he died appointed and sent into areas in different directions apostles who were to carry on his teachings.

4. *Early Missionaries of the Bektashi Way*

Both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are too obscure to justify us in drawing a clear picture of the early development of the order. It seems reasonably certain that from the early part of the fourteenth century at least the order was closely associated with the military career of the Ottomans. The tradition early arose that the Bektashis and Janissaries felt that their characteristic costume was worn with the official approval and blessing of the Bektashi order, and as *Aşık Paşa Zade*[1] pointed out in the case of *Abdal Musa*, early Bektashis apparently accompanied the Janissaries on their campaigns of conquest.

Impossible as it is to draw a detailed historical picture, tradition has stepped in to give a wealth of detail. The two early missionaries around whom most tradition has gathered are *Sarı Saltık* and *Seyit Ali Sultan*. *Sarı Saltık's* story is told in the *Vilayetname*[2] and is discussed at some length by *Evliya Çelebi*, the great Turkish seventeenth century traveller.[3] According to this tradition *Sarı Saltık* first met Haji Bektash Veli as he was watering sheep at a fountain and gained his name from Bektash's commission, "We have sent you (*Saldık*) to *Rumeli* (Europe)." On a rug given by Haji Bektash he crossed the Black Sea, visited Georgia, converted the people there, put upon them the *Hüseyni tac* and finally went to Kilgra[4] in the Dobruja in Bulgaria ; he killed a seven headed dragon, aided by *Hızır*[5] and finally on his death was found in seven coffins,

[1] His printed history, Ist. Ed., p. 205, Giese, p. 201.

[2] My MS. copy, leaves 75 to 79, Gross, pp. 73 ff.

[3] Eng. Translation I, ii., 245 ; Turkish text I, 659 ; III, 366. See also Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* for many references to this whole cycle of traditions.

[4] Kaliakra. Since Ibni Batuta twice stopped at the tekke or the town of "Baba Saltuq," whom he describes as "an ecstatic mystic, though stories are told of actions by him which are condemned by the law" (Gibbs' *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Argonaut Series, pp. 153, 165) it appears that by the years 1325-1354 *Saltık* was known as a historic personage, another evidence that lying behind the fantastic tradition in the *Vilayetname* a nucleus of historic truth is to be found. In the 16th cent. the zaviye of *Sarı Saltık* is the scene of several legal actions as dervishes become accused of using expressions contrary to the orthodox faith. (*Ahmet Refik's Osmanlı Devrinde Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, pp. 16, 17.)

[5] Ency. of Islam, art. Khadir, Vol. II, pp. 861-865.

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thus accounting for the traditions of his burial place in many localities. In Albania among Bektashis the tradition of Sarı Saltık's coming in the fourteenth century still survives.

Seyit Ali Sultan in the *vilayetname* attributed to him[1] is described as one of Forty Heroes who were told in a dream by the prophet Muhammad to go to Haji Bektash by whom they would have swords girded on them. The rites were revealed to them, and with Bektash's blessing they went to *Orhan Han* to whom similarly by a dream their coming had been revealed in answer to his prayer that God might give him victory in a conquest of Rumeli. Of the forty, Bektash appoints *Seyit Ali Sultan* as commander, *Emir Sultan* as banner bearer, *Seyit Rustem Gazi* as *Kaziasker*, and *Abdul Samad* as *Imam*. On arrival at *Orhan's* camp they were welcomed with honours. A council of war was called, but *Orhan's* pashas were unable to draw up a plan of campaign that appeared reasonable. So *Orhan* turned to the Forty Heroes. *Seyit Rustem Gazi* proposed that *Orhan* advance with the left wing, *Sarıca Paşa* in the centre, while the Forty would go forward with *Suleyman Paşa* on the right. The Dardanelles were crossed, Gallipoli was taken; by divine revelation the Forty were ordered to take tribute from prisoners and to reserve one out of five prisoners to be held for *Orhan*. There follows then the story of one conquest after another. Three shepherds are on one occasion taken prisoners and one of them is killed and his body speared on irons as if for roasting. The others are terror-stricken, thinking the new enemy is an army of cannibals. Allowed to escape they hurry to the fortress about to be attacked and report their experience. While the enemy quarrelled amongst themselves some wanting to flee, some to stay and fight, the Forty approached. *Seyit Ali Sultan* gave a loud cry and the city wall crumbled, leaving its defenders to be killed and captured. On one occasion water was lacking for the *abdest* or ritual ablution. *Emir Sultan*, in a hurry to show his power, struck his staff on the ground and water like the water of life sprang forth. *Seyit Ali Sultan*, however, rebuked him for his unseemly haste, saying that there was a Saint present more powerful than he. *Emir Sultan* immediately died and his post of banner-bearer was given to *Tahir*. In each city taken much plunder was seized, the cap-

[1] Through the kindness of *Niyazi Dede*, the head of the Bektashi community in Albania, a copy of this *Vilayetname* copied for him in the *Kaygusuz Dergâh* in Cairo, in 1932, was loaned to me so that I might take a photostat copy.

tured inhabitants either becoming Moslems, paying tribute or being held as slaves. Gallipoli, Adrianople and Silistre were captured among many other places. A long poem in the *Vilayetname* recites the deeds of the *Evrenos Gazi* of whom *Aşık Paşa Zade* and *Uruc* made mention at the time of the organizing of the Janissaries. Finally, after many conquests, the dervishes separated and chose permanent abiding places where tekkes were built and where their acts of miracle made a deep impression on the surrounding people.

This book with its stories of wonders serves historically to indicate the "Gazi" character of early Bektashiism and to show the type of story told to win wonder and interest and to impress possible converts. The occasional reminiscence of Bible tradition would perhaps appeal to ignorant Christian villagers, and the close association in tradition of the Bektashis with the early campaigns of conquest is certainly made plain. The appearance in the account of two names already associated with the beginning of the Janissaries, *Rustem* and *Evrenos*, suggests that here, mixed with impossible details, are echoes of genuine history.

5. *Bektashi Poets of the Early Period*

There is to-day in Turkey no poet more honoured than *Yunus Emre*, for he wrote with an obvious sincerity and depth of religious feeling and in the language of the Anatolian Turkish peasant. The *Vilayetname* of Haji Bektash Veli tells the Bektashi tradition of his conversion.[1] In a little village called *Sarı Köy*, to the north of *Sivri Hissar*, lived a farmer named *Yunus*. One year on account of famine his crops failed. Hearing of aid often given the poor by Haji Bektash Veli, he himself went to the tekke of the saint with a load of fruit as a present. After staying a few days he made it known that he wished to leave. Bektash asked which he would like, wheat to take with him, or the inspiration (literally, breath, *nefes*) of the Saint. *Yunus* chose the wheat. Bektash sent back word suggesting that for every piece of fruit two breathings[2] be given. *Yunus*

[1] Gross' translation, pages 78-80. In my MS. copy, leaves 82-84.

[2] The custom of breathing on or blowing is one practised down to most recent days by dervishes in Turkey. It is believed that the breath conveys to the one breathed upon the spirit of God. Ills of all sorts, spiritual and physical, are believed in this way to be cured. By Law No. 677, passed in Nov. 1925, the Republic of Turkey forbade the practice of blowing, *üfürükçülük*. Cf. page 84, note 2.

still preferred the wheat and he did so even when ten "breaths" were offered for each piece of fruit. The wheat was therefore given, but when *Yunus* came to the "little hill on the other side of the *hamam* (Turkish bath) in the lower part of the village" he began to repent of his choice. He might have had the "*nasip*" or initiation into the mystic order, something which would not pass away with time as would the wheat. He therefore turned back and, lowering his load of wheat, he asked for the initiation instead. Bektash replied that that could not be, for the "key of his journey" had been sent to a certain *Tapduk Emre*. Therefore *Yunus* was sent to *Tapduk Emre* whom he served as a wood carrier. So faithful was he that a wet or crooked stick was never brought in, for such, he said, would be unworthy of his master. After forty years of this service, during a ritual meeting Bektash *Hünkâr* turned to him and commanded him to sing, for his "return" journey had now been opened up. *Yunus* to the amazement of all, opened his mouth and poured forth such sweet hymns of love and adoration as the listeners had never heard. To this day his poems are loved by Turks of all types and discussed in many a journal. Probably the majority of critics doubt if he was a real Bektashi, feeling that the tradition in the *Vilayetname* is rather an example of a very common tendency, then as now, for a sect to claim as a member one whom they honour. One of Turkey's best scholars, however, *Abdülbaki Bey*, writing in *Yeni Türk Mecmuası*,[1] points out considerable proof that he was a Bektashi. The lines:

> The meaning of *Baba Tapduk*
> We have learned; praise belongs to God

seem to be in confirmation of the traditional story as given in the *Vilayetname*. *Yunus'* contempt for outer form and his hints at hidden truths both are in harmony with a Bektashi allegiance. The following poem if really Yunus' would prove him rather positively to be a Bektashi.[2]

> My *Şeyh* is an exalted person,
> He is the head of the three, the seven, the forty.
> With the twelve Imams he is a fellow possessor of the secret.
> I will not turn from my *Şeyh*; how can I turn?

[1] July, 1933, p. 831. Since the above was written *Abdülbaki* has published a book, *Yunus Emre, Hayatı*, in which the same point of view is elaborated.
[2] Ibid., page 832.

Other verses refer to the incident of Bektash's riding the wall to meet *Seyit Mahmut Hayran* who was coming to meet him on a lion,[1] and to the incident mentioned in the *Vilayetname* of his kneading a rock into dough. Unless we feel compelled to assert that such passages are not *Yunus'* at all we must conclude that these do indicate a strong enough Bektashi flavour to indicate a direct relation with the order. In the lithographed edition of his *Divan*, the prayer[2] placed just before the collection of hymns is another evidence of Bektashi affiliation, for the spirit of the whole poem is, as we shall see in the section on Beliefs, characteristically Bektashi. The lines:

> Thou hast set a Balance to weigh evil deeds; Thou hast purposed to cast me in the Fire.
> A Balance is suitable for one who would be a grocer; or one who would be a jeweller or a seller of perfume.
> Thou art the All Knower; thou thyself knowest my condition; what need is there for weighing my acts?

bear in every word the mark of the Bektashi protest against the religious teachings of the orthodox Sunni teachers.

The *Abdal Musa* mentioned by *Aşık Paşa Zade* appears to have been a Bektashi imitator of *Yunus Emre* and is famous in Bektashi lore.[3] The dervish who according to tradition was his disciple, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, the traditional founder of the famous Bektashi tekke in Cairo, is another and even more famous follower in the same religious and literary succession.[4] Every Bektashi collection of verse includes a goodly number of his poems, and every recent history of Turkish literature mentions him as important in the literary history of the Turkish people.[5] In addition to a collection of his poems there is a printed treatise on mysticism also attributed to him.[6]

[1] See above, page 39.
[2] *Divan*, 1340, edition, page 34.
[3] *Bektaşi Şairleri*, pages 3-7. For a detailed study of *Abdal Musa* see *Köprülü's Türk Halkedebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 60ff.
[4] Ibid., pages 196-200.
[5] *Mehmet Fuat's Divan Edebiyatı Anatolojisi*, pp. 30, 31. *Sadettin Nüzhet's Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, p. 96. *Agâh Sırrı's Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri*, p. 81. *Hasan Ali's Turk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış*, p. 63.
[6] *Risalei Kaygusuz Sultan*.

B.—THE SECOND PERIOD OF BEKTASHI HISTORY

1. *Balım Sultan*

In about the year 1500 there came to the leadership of the Bektashis a man named *Balım Sultan*, under whom new influences entered which gave permanent form and content to the practices of the order. Unfortunately no critical study has been made of the life of *Balım Sultan*. All one knows as a certainty is that certain innovations are believed to have been introduced by this leader who is often called *Piri Sani* or Second Patron Saint. All accounts[1] of *Balım Sultan* trace his origin back to Dimotika, a town located some forty kilometres south of Adrianople, where, according to Bektashi tradition was located a *dergâh*, or lodge house, of the Bektashi order called by the name of its supposed founder, *Seyit Ali Sultan*. According to the oral tradition as given me in October 1933 by *Niyazi Dede* of Albania, there was in the region of Dimotika when *Seyit Ali Sultan* entered the country a Bulgarian king whose daughter made a prayer rug and hung it on the wall remarking to her mother that she would marry whoever prayed on it. *Seyit Ali Sultan* and *Mürsel Baba* visited the home, and without asking permission took down the rug and prayed upon it. Since they were both old men such as the girl would not care to marry, the Bulgarian princess lifted up the rug, and both men fell off. *Seyit Ali Sultan* remarked that this act showed abnormal strength, a strength which really came not from her but from a *Balım Sultan* who would be born from her. Asking for honey, *Mürsel Baba* dipped his finger in it and put his finger in the princess's mouth. The girl, still a virgin, became pregnant, and *Balım*, whose name is derived from "*bal*," honey, was born. On the death of the child's mother he was taken to *Seyit Ali Sultan's* tekke at Sofular. Until he was eighteen he lived in a room said to be still known as "the school-room of *Balım Sultan*."

The version of this story accepted by students of a more critical nature is that *Mürsel Baba* at the advanced age of ninety years went to Bulgaria, married there a Bulgarian girl, from which union *Balım Sultan* was born. The traditions all point at least to a Christian mother of this leader.

[1] For one of the fullest accounts of *Balım Sultan* see *Baha Sait's* article in *Türk Yurdu*, No. 28, Nisan, 1927, pages 314 ff. See also *Kamus ul Âlâm*.

According to *Baha Sait,*[1] *Beyazit* the Second, whose rule extended from 1481-1512, was much attracted to the *Seyit Ali Sultan* tekke and in 907 (1501) appointed the *postnişin*[2] of that tekke, *Balım Sultan,* to the headship of the so-called *Pir Evi,* or House of the Patron Saint at Haji Bektash *Köy.* Under the influence of this new head certain innovations were made. The present-day initiation service of a Bektashi is sometimes called "The Method of *Balım Sultan.*"[3] According to *Baha Sait Bey* the use of twelve candles in this service, and the wearing of the *palihenk*[4] or large symbolic stone with the twelve flutings, are among the new practices brought in by this leader. It is agreed by all Bektashis that the custom of setting aside some Babas as a celibate group dates from him. In the group of buildings in the Haji Bektash tekke, where the heads of the order have always resided until recent days, there is a tomb which is reputed to be that of *Balım Sultan.* The inscription over the door calls the one buried there *Hızır Balı,* the son of *Resul Balı,* the son of Haji Bektash of *Horasan,* and the date is given as 925 (1519). In front of the door is the mulberry tree which tradition said Haji Bektash hurled as a burning brand from *Horasan* and which was planted where his home was later to be.[5] Bektashis believe that to rub on any ailing part of the body bark from this tree is to effect a cure.[6] On the threshold of this tomb it has been the custom for Bektashis wishing to take the vow of celibacy to have their ears bored, after which an earring, called *Menguş*[7] is worn. Although the historical evidence for *Balım Sultan's* life has not been studied as yet, so far as the writer knows, by any historian, it seems probable that from Haji Bektash himself and men of his type came the influences which created the total Bektashi or rather Alevi sect of Asia Minor, including the village groups such as the Tahtajis and Kizilbash, who in all of their traditions revere Haji Bektash. In the case of the so-called Kizilbash elements,[8] as will be outlined in more detail in the

[1] *Türk Yurdu,* No. 28, Nisan, 1927, p. 314.

[2] *Postnişin* means literally "he who sits upon the sheep's skin," and is the term used of the master of the lodge.

[3] It is so called in *Erkânname,* No. 2, in my private collection, a private notebook of a Bektashi Baba containing a brief form of the initiation ritual.

[4] See Part II, illustration No. 10, article 8.

[5] See above, page 37.

[6] See article *Haci Bektaş tekkesi* by *Hamit Zubeyr* in *Türkiyat Mecmuası,* Vol. II, p. 379.

[7] Horseshoe shaped said to be in memory of *Ali's* horseshoe, Rose, 198. On my trip to Albania in Oct., 1933, I observed this *menguş* only once being worn, in all other cases the celibate dervishes wore round, brown earrings.

[8] See below, page 64, n. 4, and 211 ff.

proper place, there has been a direct organizational connection with the *Çelebis* of the Haji Bektash Tekke. From *Balım Sultan*, on the other hand, has come the more closely organized Bektashis in the stricter sense of the word, the Bektashis who have been initiated by the rite developed by *Balım Sultan*. To this group with their head, called the *Dede*, who until 1925 lived also in the Haji Bektash Tekke, belong the Bektashis of Albania, Stambul, Cairo and elsewhere, wherever the tekkes bear the definite name Bektashi. That is, in the writer's understanding of the historic origins, beginning in the thirteenth century there grew up in Asia Minor a type of people's religion containing mixed elements from the various religions to which the people nominally belonged. Haji Bektash, being one of the wandering spiritual leaders who helped in this movement, his pre-eminence was gradually recognized until, not only in the village named after him near *Kır Şehir*, but also in countless villages all over Asia Minor his name became revered as the Patron Saint. With *Balım Sultan* there began a more perfected ritual and organization in tekkes in or near towns. This organization became the more formally organized Bektashi Order, as in some measure distinct from the village groups who continued their very similar beliefs and practices, but outside the regularized system of Bektashiism. Gradually there came to be at Haji Bektash Village two leaders. The *Çelebi's* who claimed descent from Haji Bektash were recognized by the village groups of Kizilbash and others as their spiritual authority. On the other hand, the *Dedes*, who were celibate, and who asserted that Haji Bektash had no children other than children of the way—*bel evladı degil, yol evladıdır*—became the spiritual and organizational head of the system as fixed by *Balım*.

2. *Hurufi Doctrines*

Following the new lead given by *Balım Sultan* with its emphasis on a celibate vow for dervishes, the next important step of the second period is the entry of Hurufiism into the Bektashi belief. Although the Bektashi reaction to Hurufiism will be studied in some detail in the chapter on Beliefs, it may make the situation more clear to tell at this time the main historic facts about this most interesting philosophy. In the year 800 (1398) a man from Esterabad named *Fazlullah* proclaimed himself divine. He taught a cabalistic system of belief in numbers and their relations to letters which are the

ultimate elements of the "word," which in turn was taken, as in John's gospel, to be the supreme manifestation of God himself. Since the doctrines of Hurufiism, so far as they concern the Bektashis, will be described at some length in the chapter on Beliefs, it is sufficient in this preliminary historical sketch to mention along with the doctrine of letters the other essential characteristic of their faith, namely that since "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord," man himself becomes a divine revelation of deity.[1] *Fazlullah's* astonishing claim of his own divinity having been brought to the ears of *Timurlenk*, the latter commanded his immediate execution.[2] But not before certain disciples were won who were destined to exercise their influence in Turkey down through the years to the present day. The most famous of these is the poet Nesimi,[3] a native of a district called Nesim, near Bagdad. In part, at least, Turkish in blood, he appears to have made the personal acquaintance of *Fazlullah* prior to 1401, and to have become an enthusiastic missionary of the new faith. Finally in Aleppo he was convicted from his own poems of heresy, and was flayed alive. To posterity he left two *Divan's*, or collections of poems, one in Persian and the other in Turkish. Although there is no evidence that he was in any way associated with the Bektashis, he is nevertheless revered to-day by Bektashis for his doctrines and especially for his bold espousal of *Mansur al Hallac's* famous assertion *En el Hak*—I am God. He is famous in Turkish literature for the lyric quality of his passionately religious verse; and as an example of bold intellectual independence he has entered into the culture of the Turkish race as a distinct moral influence.[4]

[1] See Gibbs' *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 341.

[2] Huart's *Textes Houroufis*, pages 223, 224.

[3] See Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 343 ff.

[4] *Hüseyin Cahit* writing in *Fikir Hareketleri*, No. 5, in April, 1934 (later printed in book form, *Edebi Hatiralar*, Ist., 1935, p. 8), in giving an account of his literary memoires mentions the books which as a boy influenced him most. He speaks of the Conquests of Ali, and the Adventures of *Battal Gazi*, all books beloved by the Bektashis; and then after mentioning some of the classic poets he writes as follows: "Of all these books the work which produced on me the deepest impression was the *Divan* of *Nesimi*, not so much because of its contents, which I could not well understand, but because of the personality of the writer. I listened to his adventures from the mouth of my father. In all that story this is what remained in my mind: They flayed his skin while he was alive, alive! He said, 'The God whom you worship is under my foot.' His fault consisted of this. And under his foot was a piece of money! For a long period on my bed at night I would go to sleep still under the excitement which I felt on account of the story of this great man who was flayed alive. He challenged all the powerful and bad men of his day. Without fear he spoke what he thought. They seized him and brought him to the public square. Even in the face of death he was not silent. He still refused to give up speaking the truth and on account of that he suffered a terrible death."

From the point of view of the Bektashis the most important disciple of *Fazlullah* was a certain *Ali ul Ala* who in the fifteenth century is represented as carrying on an aggressive activity spreading his master's teaching. The chief source of information regarding this leader appears to be the *Kâşif ul Eşrar ve Def ul Esrar*,[1] a highly controversial religious tract written by *Ishak Efendi*, a learned exponent of Sunni Islam, in 1873 (1290 A.H.) The book is written in a spirit of bitter hatred against the Bektashis especially on account of their Hurufi teachings. Although this book appears to be more helpful in misleading than guiding aright one's understanding of the true nature of Bektashiism, it has, nevertheless, attained to considerable reputation among Western students. According to *Ishak Efendi* who wrote toward the end of the nineteenth century, *Ali ul Ala* in the early part of the fifteenth century entered into Bektashi tekkes and spread the doctrines of *Fazlullah* by representing them to be the teachings of Haji Bektash. There appears, however, to be no historical support for this statement. Rather it appears that Hurufiism and Bektashiism are to a certain degree, and have always been separate systems of doctrine. My reason for believing this is that I can nowhere find the slightest evidence that *Fazlullah's* doctrines are or have ever been, accepted by Bektashis as the teachings of Haji Bektash. Bektashis, on the other hand, frequently show that there is a distinction in their minds between the necessary beliefs of their order and those of Hurufiism.[2] In the earliest

[1] Jacob printed a translation of it in his *Beiträge zur Kennt. des Derwisch-Orders der Bektaschis*, Berlin, 1908. Huart refers to this trans. in his *Textes Houroufis*, Leyden and London, 1909, pages xii to xviii.

[2] *Sulo Bey Çelo* of Tirana, one of the best read Bektashis I have ever met, and himself an enthusiastic Hurufi, in giving me a list of books important in the Bektashi Way, mentioned the following :—

Miratül Mekasit	*Divani Ali*
Mahalati Haci Bektaş Veli	*Hutbet ül Beyan*
Vilayetname (menakıb)	*Nehcul Belaga*
Fevaitname	*Noktatül Beyan*
Risaleli Kaygusuz Sultan	*Cifri Ali*

The important books of Hurufiism formed an entirely different list:

Cavidan	*Zubdetun Nejat*
Ustuva Name	*Risalei Mebde ve Mujat*
Arş Name	*Mudekkik Namei Arifin*
Besaret Name	*Tevzihi Name*
Mahrem Name	*Iskender Name*
Mesele Name	*Erresail*
Tevzihul Asliyat	*Zerre*
Arşi Baba Divani	*Vucut Namei Seyit Şerif Amili*
Mahşer Name	*Risalei Esma ve Musamma*
Nokta Name	*Işk Name*
Mesihi Name	*Risalei Virani Baba*

references to Bektashiism there is no confusing the two. The fifteenth century historians, *Aşık Paşa Zade* and *Uruc*, speak of Bektash and his followers, but make no mention of Hurufi precepts. A manuscript book in my possession written in 1653 as a defence of the orthodox faith attributes misfortunes in war to the spread of Hurufi heresies among the soldiers. Evidently the teachings of *Fazlullah* were reaching the Janissaries as well as the civilian Bektashis, but there is no identification of Hurufi teachings with Bektashi Principles. *Taş Köprü Zade*, (see below, page 62) writing in the *Şakaiki Numaniye* in the sixteenth century gives in some detail the story of Hurufi missionaries at the court of Muhammad II. There is, however, no suggestion that these are propagating their teachings as the ideas of Bektash. In fact the Bektashis themselves tend to attribute very little substance of doctrine to Haji Bektash, the *Makalât* even being considered to be the work of *Sadettin*. Always the two sets of doctrines, though mixed, are recognized as of separate origin save in *Ishak Efendi's* vitriolic attack. Personal contact with Bektashis and those who have known them intimately confirms the impression that while Bektashiism is saturated with Hurufi teachings, such teachings in their clear form are recognized as coming from *Fazlullah*. They are never attributed to the Patron Saint of the order; and Bektashis differ from each other in the degree of their attachment to Hurufi beliefs. It does appear, however, to be true that by the middle of the fifteenth century Hurufi missionaries had spread their teachings widely in Asia Minor with an amazingly favourable response, and that from that time onward Bektashis have been among the most enthusiastic believers in the teachings of *Fazlullah*. According to the oral tradition among Bektashis themselves,[1] *Ali ul Ala* was among those missionaries called "certain accursed ones of no significance," mentioned in the "*Şakaiki Numaniye*,"[2] a most important encyclopædia of biography written by *Taş*

Although it may be objected that there is some confusion here and that the *Noktatül Beyan* at least is Hurufi in its character the point is arguable, and to *Sulo Bey* there appeared a clear distinction between the two doctrines.

[1] This interpretation was given me by a learned Bektashi, *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan, in Oct., 1933. He said that *Ali ul Ala* was a Halife of *Gül Baba*, the famous Bektashi buried in Buda, see *Moslem World*, Jan., 1935, article entitled A Moslem Shrine in Buda. He also said that *Gül Baba* was in turn the *Halife* of *Sarı Saltık*, see above p. 51. *Murat II*, he said, was a dervish of *Ali ul Ala*.

[2] See Turkish translation by *Mecdi Efendi*, page 82 in article on *Mevlana Fahreddin Acemi*. For an account of this author and his books see Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bibliographie Arabe, col. 1221f.

Köprü Zade in the sixteenth century. According to the *Şakaik* these "accursed ones" whose names were not worthy of being mentioned so insinuated themselves into the graces of the royal monarch, *Muhammad II*, son of *Murat II*, that the ruler became himself an initiated follower definitely attached to the Hurufi sect and its teachings. The learned *ulema*'s naturally became genuinely alarmed. In the immediate entourage of the Sultan was a certain *Mahmut Paşa* who, fearing to interfere himself, reported the situation to *Mevlana Fahreddin*, and consulted with him as to what could be done to save the *Sultan*. By agreement *Fahreddin Efendi* was concealed in the palace so that he might in secret hear for himself the doctrines being taught. Enraged at their heresies he reviled them with curses. Although they fled into the presence of the Sultan for protection, the learned judge so accused them of blasphemous heresy that the ruler was silenced in their defence. *Fahreddin Efendi* then took them before the mosque in Adrianople, called the Mosque of the Three Galleries, publicly condemned their teachings and proclaimed them worthy of death. In his own eagerness, while blowing on the fire which was being prepared to burn the heretics, his beard caught fire. The fire did its work of complete destruction of the heretics in question and we hear no more of such teachings gaining again the favour of the monarch himself. Possibly because of the secrecy which has apparently from the first characterized the practices of the Bektashis, the Hurufi doctrines could be perpetuated in the Bektashi lodges as nowhere else. The question of whether or not *Balım Sultan* was a Hurufi is not capable, with our present evidence, of positive proof either way. The poem attributed to him in *Sadettin Nüzhet's Bektaşı Şairleri*, page 419, clearly has Hurufi ideas in it, but there is no evidence establishing *Balım's* authorship. The absence elsewhere of poems even attributed to *Balım* counts against the authenticity of this one.

3. *Şah Ismail of Persia*

In the year 1502 there was crowned at Tabriz a new Shah, Ismail, the founder of the *Safevı Dynasty*, a man destined to exercise a great influence over the Bektashi and Kizilbash elements of the Turkish population for generations to come. He was a descendant in the sixth generation from *Şeyh Safiyuddin* of Erdebil in Azerbayjan. It was from this ancestor that the

dynastic name came, and from him also originated both a mystic devotion and a dervish organization which played their determining parts not only in the establishing of the *Safevı* Dynasty on the throne of Persia, but also in bringing anxiety and danger to at least two Ottoman rulers. A descendant of *Safiyuddin*, (*Safiyuddin* himself according to D'Herbelot and Sir W. Jones, *Şeyh Sadreddin*, his son, according to Malcolm,[1] and *Hoca Ali*, his grandson, according to E. G. Browne,[2] the last seeming more probable since the dates of his leadership were from 1392–1427, the period of Timurlane's invasion of Asia Minor,) was visited by Timur out of respect and reverence for his piety, and was asked what favour could be conferred on him. "Release the prisoners you brought from Turkey," was the reply. This being immediately done, the grateful tribes vowed devotion to the saint, and the same spirit of loyalty was passed on to their descendants and became later both the strength of Shah Ismail and the weakness of *Sultan Selim*. According to Browne, it was this same *Hoca Ali*[3] who first of his dynasty showed a strong tendency toward an extraordinary devotion to the *Imam Ali*. The grandson of *Hoca Ali*, *Şeyh Cuneyd*, and his son, *Şeyh Haydar*, the father of Ismail, were the first to assert their claims with the sword. They carried on an active propaganda in Asia Minor as well as in Persia. *Cuneyd* was driven out of Persia for a time by the ruler of the *Kara Kuyun* (Black Sheep) dynasty, Jihanshah, and he took refuge at the court of *Uzun Hasan*, (1453–1478) of the *Ak Kuyun* dynasty whose capital was at Diarbekir in eastern Asia Minor and North Mesopotamia. There he married the sister of *Uzun Hasan*, Hadije Begum.[4] He appears first, however, to have travelled somewhat extensively in Asia Minor visiting Konia, Karaman, Aleppo, Sivas and Amasya, making contact with the *Türkmen* tribes and boldly in the face of danger proclaiming his devotion to the

[1] Malcolm's *History of Persia* 1829 Edition, I, 321, n.f. mentions the accounts of Jones and D'Herbelot.

[2] Persian Literature in *Modern Times*, page 19.

[3] In order to keep straight the influences which prepared the way for Ismail and made possible his widespread influence in Asia Minor, it will perhaps help to insert here the following list of Ismail's ancestors and the dates of their exercise of power as heads of their mystic order: (compiled from Browne's Pers. Lit. in *Modern Times*, pages 43-49.)

Şeyh Safiyuddin,	1300–1334	*Şeyh Ibrahim*,	1427–1447
Şeyh Sadreddin,	1334–1392	*Şeyh Cuneyd*,	1447–1456
Hoca Ali,	1392–1427	*Şeyh Haydar*,	1456–1488

Şah Ismail born 1487, crowned 1500 or 1502, died 1524.

[4] Von Hammer's *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, 1844 Ed., I, 388.

family of the Prophet as alone entitled to the imamate.[1] In this way the attachment felt for his family by Turkish tribes was strengthened and his doctrines were scattered broadcast. His son, *Şeyh Haydar*, succeeded to the favour of *Uzun Hasan* and was given his daughter, Alemshah Bana,[2] as wife. Thus for two generations, following on the strategic intervention of *Hoca Ali*, personal efforts were expended by this family of militant spiritual leaders in or on the immediate edge of the territory of the Ottoman rulers. In the days of *Şeyh Safiyuddin* it is said that as many as 13,000 visitors came in three months along one road from Asia Minor to visit the Saint.[3] Under *Şeyh Haydar* it is said that his followers were asked to remove the *Türkmen* cap they had worn and to put on a high conical turban in twelve folds with a red *Kaftan* wrapped around, and it is apparently from this that the term Kizilbash,[4] or Red Head, originates as a name for the Alevi village peoples of Asia Minor.

Few characters in history are more interesting than Ismail the *Safevi*. Travellers in the sixteenth century praised his beauty of appearance and the nobility of his manner. Caterino Zeno speaking of him when he was thirteen years old, described him as "of noble presence and a truly royal bearing, as in his eyes there was something, I know not what, so great and commanding, which plainly showed that he would one day become a great ruler. Nor did the virtues of his mind disaccord with

[1] See *Baha Sait's* article on *Bektaşiler* in *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 5, no. 28, pages 307, 308.

[2] Von Hammer I., 1844 Paris Ed., page 389.

[3] Browne's *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 44.

[4] It is perhaps in place at this point to insert a brief statement of the relations between the Kizilbash and the Bektashis. The latter term is used properly of those actually initiated into the ritual of the order of that name, the initiation usually, if not always taking place in a Tekke or Dergah, a lodge building usually near but somewhat apart from a town or city. The initiation is voluntary for the individual and does not necessarily involve the whole family. The Kizilbash, on the other hand, are village groups, and it is apparently expected that all members of the village will become at the proper age, initiated members. The Bektashis look down upon the Kizilbash as related but inferior and somewhat degenerate group of believers. In actual fact, however, the points of resemblance are many. Their rituals bear points of striking resemblance. Their beliefs and traditions are similar, especially their faith in Ali and the Twelve Imams. They both, doubtless with some exceptions, read from the same books and sing the same hymns. The Kizilbash used to recognize the authority over them of the Bektashi *Çelebi* who resided with the Bektashi *Dede* in the *Pir Evi* or House of the Patron Saint in Haji Bektash Village. Even in the case of the Tahtajis who denied any such allegiance there was still a veneration for the name of Haji Bektash, who was their Patron Saint. A common origin and a moulding through history by common traditions appear to unite them; while separating them are chiefly the differing mentality of town and village and the stricter organization, dating perhaps from *Balım Sultan*, of the Bektashi tekkes proper. (See above, p. 57 and below, p. 211 ff.)

the beauty of his person as he had an elevated genius, and such a lofty idea of things as seemed incredible at such a tender age. . . . He had vigour of mind, quickness of perception, and a personal valour . . . never yet equalled by any of his contemporaries." . . . "This Sophi," another Venetian traveller, Angiolello says, "is fair, handsome, and very pleasing. He is almost worshipped, more especially by his soldiers, many of whom fight without armour, being willing to die for their master."[1]

In spite of all this excellence, however, Ismail was a ruler characterized by almost incredible cruelty. As soon as he was crowned he not only commanded that throughout his realm the phrase, "I bear witness that Ali is the Friend of God," should be introduced into the profession of faith and that the first three Caliphs, *Ebubekir*, *Ömer*, and *Osman*, should be publicly cursed in the streets and markets, but he also threatened to decapitate any who conscientiously objected.[2] To avenge the murder of a "Sufi of pure disposition and right belief" he conquered the stronghold of Usta and massacred the prisoners. In dismissing with honour ambassadors sent by *Beyazit II* of Turkey, he first required them to witness several executions including that of a learned man whose offence was that he was a Sunni, or orthodox follower of Islam.[3] The extent of his savagery is shown by his treatment of the body of Shaybani, a Uzbek enemy of fanatical Sunni faith, whom he defeated and killed in 1510. "When his body was found under a heap of slain, Shah Ismail ordered the limbs to be cut off and distributed to the different parts of the kingdom, and the head to be stuffed with straw and sent as a grim gift to the Ottoman Sultan, *Beyazit II*, at Constantinople. The bones of the skull he caused to be mounted in gold and made into a drinking cup for his use, and one hand he sent to Aga Rustam Ruz-afzun, the ruler of Mazandaran, by a special messenger, who cast the hand on to Rustam's skirt as he sat in the midst of his courtiers at Sari, crying 'Thou didst say, "My hand on Shaybak Khan's skirt"; lo! his hand is now on thy skirt.'"[4]

It is this mysterious personality with the strange mixture

[1] Both of these quotations are taken from Browne's *Pers. Lit. in Mod. Times*, pages 60, 61, which in turn is quoting from *Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia* Hakluyt Society, London, 1873).

[2] Browne's *Persian Literature*, p. 54.

[3] Ibid., p. 57.

[4] Ibid., page 65.

of good and evil, the power to attract by thousands loyal followers who were eager to die for him, and the cruelty toward his foes and those not of his faith that could drive him to be utterly merciless, who carried on the work of his ancestors in propagating in Asia Minor Shii doctrines, and who, under the pen-name *Hatayı*, wrote Turkish religious verse of a quantity and character to make him for over 400 years one of the most influential personages among both the Bektashis and Kizilbash.

To understand his influence, however, we must continue the story of his political adventures. The last years of *Beyazit II's* reign were darkened for him by a revolt of Shii villagers in the province of Tekke around Adalya. Their leader, son of a disciple of Ismail's father, *Şeyh Haydar*, called himself *Şah Kulu*, slave of the *Şah*, and announced himself as the representative of Ismail.[1] The Turks, in return, called him *Şeytan Kulu*, slave of the devil. With his followers he defeated *Karagöz*, the *Beylerbey* of Anatolia and he then proceeded to advance as far as Brusa. The Grand Vizir, *Ali Paşa* was forced to take the field and only after a bitter struggle and at the cost of his own life was able to defeat the rebels in a battle in which *Şah Kulu* also lost his life. When *Selim I* ascended the throne in the following year, 1512, he determined once and for all to rid himself of the internal danger from Shii subjects. By means of spies he prepared a list of all the Shi'ites in his empire from seven to seventy years of age. The number of such is said to have reached 40,000 all of whom were executed or sentenced to life imprisonment.[2] He then proceeded to prepare to march against Shah Ismail with whom in the year 1614 he exchanged correspondence of a nature hardly diplomatic. In one letter to the Han of the Uzbegs Selim speaks of Ismail as " that vile, impure, sinful, slanderous, reprehensible and bloodthirsty Sufi cub."[3] In the campaign which resulted in a decisive victory for *Selim* on the field of Chaldiran in 1514 there are two events which, from the point of view of the Bektashi faith, are of particular significance. Before he started, he announced at a council of war his intention of gathering an army on the plain of *Yenişehir* and was greeted by absolute silence until finally a simple Janissary soldier expressed gratitude for the chance to be sent against Ismail.[4] How far there is here any realization of the difficulty of sending against the Shi'ite

[1] Von Hammer's *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, 1844 Ed., I, 394–395.
[2] Ibid., p. 414.
[3] Browne's *Pers. Lit.* p. 73 quoting from *Feridun Bey's Munşaatı Salatin.*
[4] Von Hammer, I, 414.

Ismail, Janissary soldiers who are themselves avowed followers of Haji Bektash, tinged at least with the doctrines of the enemy, is perhaps impossible to say with our inadequate information. The probability, however, seems to be that in the whole campaign of *Selim* against Ismail the secret tendency of the Bektashi influence toward the Shi'ite devotion to Ali and the Twelve Imams operated to make *Selim's* task harder. It is asserted, but without mention of the source of his information, by *Baha Sait Bey* in his article in *Türk Yurdu*,[1] that just before the Battle of Chaldiran, *Sultan Selim* held another council of war. He had completed a six months' forced march. His men and his animals were tired out. Not one of his advisors thought it wise to attack without allowing some time for rest. But the *Defterdar, Piri Efendi,* objected to the stand of the others. "We must attack immediately," he said. When *Sultan Selim* asked for his reasons he said, "We will be giving opportunity for the working of the Kizilbash heresy in the Janissaries and in the soldiers from Rumeli. It is necessary not to allow time for them to think and to show the love that is in their hearts." "Behold a man worthy to be Vizir," replied *Selim* as he ordered the attack. It is common knowledge that the restlessness of his Janissary soldiers compelled *Selim* to forego the full fruits of his victory and retreat before he had consolidated his gains.[2] This restlessness appears due not only to the distance from home, and the lack of booty, but also to their secret sympathy for the doctrines of the enemy.

Prof. E. G. Browne in his *Persian Literature in Modern Times* sums up Ismail's reign in a striking sentence.[3] "In his reign

[1] Vol. 5, 1927, No. 28, p. 319.

[2] In connection with this very brief attempt to reconstruct something of the history of *Selim's* relations with Ismail it is perhaps worth while to point out that according to Bektashi tradition both *Selim* and Ismail were initiated members of the order. *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan gave me the story as follows: *Selim I* was one of the dervishes of *Balım Sultan*. *Selim* even wore the *menguş*, the horseshoe shaped earring inaugurated by Balim as the sign of a celibate dervish. Pictures of *Selim*, he said, show this earring. At one time in their youth before either had come to power *Selim* and Ismail were sitting together, talking in the presence of *Balım Sultan*. It was suggested and agreed between them that on coming to power they would do away with the differences in Islam (presumably meaning that they would make Bektashis or at least Shiis of all Moslems). Later, when they both came to power, Ismail wrote to *Selim* and suggested that they now work together to carry out their pledge. *Selim* replied that his vizirs were Sunnis, and that he must therefore go slowly. Ismail in anger replied, calling him a liar and one untrue to his word. That is the reason, *Selman Baba* assured me, for *Selim's* campaign against Ismail. Like *Baha Sait*, *Selman Baba* also pointed out that *Selim* won by the sword, but Ismail's victory by the pen was the greater.

[3] Page 81.

the sword was more active than the pen." The sentence is impressive because it contrasts so absolutely with the situation as it appears from the Turkish point of view. *Sultan Selim* administered with his sword a crushing defeat to Shah Ismail. It is said that Ismail never smiled after this disastrous battle.[1] But, as *Baha Sait Bey* points out,[2] the real victor, nevertheless, was Ismail, for his pen was mightier than *Selim's* sword. *Selim,* as we have seen, prepared for his campaign against Persia by a systematic attempt to destroy every believer in the Shii heresy. The power of the spoken and written word, the power of a faith believed with enthusiasm, all the time was working against him. He himself was a poet who used for his verse the Persian tongue, the classic literary language of the Turkish court. But Ismail used the Turkish of the common people. His doctrines he expressed in a language which moved the heart. They spread his teachings as could no power of physical force. To-day there is preserved a *Divan of Hatayı,*[3] but far more important than that rare collection are the scattered *nefes'es* found in practically every collection of Bektashi or Kizilbash verse. In *Sadettin Nuzhet Bey's Bektaşı Şairleri,*[4] there are thirty-four pages devoted to Ismail's religious verse under his pen-name *Hatayı*[5], only one other poet having as much space given to him. In the three manuscript collections of Bektashi verse in the private collection of the writer there is at least five poems by *Hatayı* in each. *Yusuf Ziya Bey* in his travels among the Alevi villages of Anatolia and the Tahtaji villages around Smyrna found *Hatayı's* poems among the most popular,[6] particularly the so-called *Duvazdeh Imam* poems proclaiming the glory of the Twelve Imams. Even if all the poems bearing his

[1] Browne's *Pers. Lit.*, p. 77, quoting from Malcolm's *Hist. of Peers.*

[2] *Türk Yurdu,* No. 28, p. 320.

[3] *Sadettin Nuzhet Bey* in *Bek. Şair.* p. 135, reports copies in *Köprülü's* private library and in the Ali Emiri Library, No. 167.

[4] A collection of Bektashi verse from 180 different poets, published in 1930 for the Department of Education.

[5] The reason for choosing this pen-name appears obscure. The Bektashi tradition, however, was reported to me by *Sulo Bey Çelo* of Tirana, an enthusiastic student of Bektashiism. In our conversation together he had been remarking that Bektashiism stands essentially for oneness, "Birlik," the enemy of all multiplicity; oneness with God and all mankind. In response, I asked about Hatayı, the author of many poems that extolled "Oneness." His answer was that Ismail had been a sinner, but after becoming a Bektashi changed. His name, Sulo Bey Said, shows that: *Hata ettim,* "I have erred." As a matter of fact there is no evidence known to the writer that *Hatayı* was ever a Bektashi at all so far as initiation into the rites of the order are concerned.

[6] *Ilah. Fak. Mec.* 2nd year 1928. In No. 8 on p. 117 is a long poem describing the heavenly ascent of Ali, and in No. 19 p. 80, is a *Duvazdeh Imam,* both by *Hatayı.*

name are not authentic, the very fact that imitators have used his name to gain favour for their own songs is a testimony to his influence. In Bektashi history he must be considered one of the most influential teachers and propagators of doctrine the order has ever had.

4. *Revolt of the Kalenderoğlu*

Early in the reign of *Suleyman* the Lawgiver, there took place a revolt of Bektashi dervishes in the province of Karamania.[1] The reason for the revolt appears obscure. It occurred under the leadership of a certain Kalender who claimed to be a descendent of Haji Bektash.[2] Turkish historians indicate that he gathered around him in 1526–1527 twenty to thirty thousand "dervishes, abdals, kalenders and others." Local authorities were powerless to handle the situation. A battle fought in the neighbourhood of Tokat resulted in the death of the Beylerbey of Karamania, the Beys of Alaja, Amasya and Birejik and the *Defterdar's* of Karamania and Anatolia. It became necessary for the Grand Vizir, *Ibrahim*, to march against the insurgents in person at the head of an army of three thousand Janissaries and two thousand Spahis. Hasluck points out[3] that the use of Janissaries against the Bektashis would seem to show no connection between the two at this time. It is, however, worth noting that *Ibrahim* did not dare proceed in direct open warfare. Two measures he deemed essential for success. First he forbade under penalty of death the entry into his camp of any man from the armies defeated by the rebels. The fear was expressed that terror would otherwise be spread by the accounts of the fugitives. It seems altogether probable that this unusual measure taken to prevent fear from seizing his soldiers was rather to keep his Janissary soldiers unaware of the nature of their foe, lest their sympathies rather than their fears should weaken them. A second measure taken by *Ibrahim* was to give assurance of his favour to the *Türkmen* tribes attached to *Kalender Oğlu*, and to win them to his side by the distribution of fiefs among them. It was only after taking these two precautions, which served both to blind his Janissaries to the situa-

[1] Von Hammer, *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, 1844, I, 489.

[2] *Peçevi* in his *Tarih* I, 120, states that Kalender was descended from Haji Bektash through *Habib Efendi* the "*nefesoğlu*" or "son of the breath" of *Kadıncık* by a drop of blood from Bektashi's nose. The genealogy then is as follows: *Habib Efendi, Resul Çelebi, Balım Sultan, Iskender Kalender.*

[3] Christianity and Islam I, 163.

tion, and to reduce the foe to a relatively inconsiderable number of the obstinate, that *Ibrahim* felt in position to definitely attack. The remaining rebels were defeated near Elbistan and the heads of the leaders were borne back hanging from the saddles of the Vizir's troops. The full story of this revolt, however, seems not to be finished with this defeat, for as late as 1607 the city of Brusa was burned by the *Kalender Oğlu.*[1]

5. *Bektashiism in Albania*

Since in our own day the Bektashi Order has found its most congenial home in Albania, let us turn for the moment our attention to that land and consider the spread of the Bektashi doctrines there. Any satisfactory investigation is made difficult, if not impossible, by the absence of definite historical data. We know that the invasion of Albania by Turkish troops under *Murat II* began at least as early as 1431 when Yannina was captured. *Evliya Çelebi*, who reports that the famous *Evrenos Gazi*, with whose name we are already familiar in connection with the founding of the Janissaries, advanced as far as Lake Ochrida.[2] Since *Evrenos* is known to have died in 1417,[3] and is supposed to have been over 100 years old at the time, it is probable that his advance campaign must have taken place in the reign of *Beyazit I* who was campaigning on the borders of Albania when attracted away by the invasion of Timurlane in 1402. With his soldiers, and even more probably with those of *Murat II*, must have gone some of the Bektashi companions of the Janis-

[1] Britannica XI, article Brusa. Some of the early European writers of this period mention the Kalenders but do not apparently know the Bektashis by that name. Spandoni or Spandugino who died before 1511 (Petite Traicte de L'Origine des Turcoz, par Theodore Spandonyn Cantacasin, Publie et Annoté par Charles Schefer, Paris 1896, says (p. 319ff) that there are four types of religion in Turkey, Dynamie, Seque, Calender, Torlaqui. Menavino, who lived in Turkey during the reigns of *Beyazid II*, *Selim I* and *Suleyman I*, speaks of four religious sects Geomailer, Calender, Deruisi and Torlachi. (Türkische *Historian*, *Von der Turcken*, translated by Heinrich Müller from Italian to German, Frankfurt 1563. pp. xxxb-xxxiii). The description of the Dervuis, or Dervishes suggests that this group are the Bektashis. They wear a long white hat, beg alms in the name of the "mighty hero Ali," have in Anatolia a cloister named after *Scidibattal-Seyid Gazi Battal* (cf. Wulzinger's *Drei Bektaschi-Klösters Phrygien*, and Theodore Menzel, Das Bektasi-Kloster Sejjid-i-Ghazi in *Mitteilungen des Orientalischen Seminars XXVIII*, 1925, pp. 92-125), wear earrings from pierced ears, and have a ritual meal with dance and song following. Nicholas Nicholai, Der Schiffahrt 1572, evidently follows Menavino, naming, p. LXVff, the four religious sects, Geomaliers, Calenders, Deruis and Torlaquis. Nicholay also speaks of their holy man Scidibattal, and he mentions a Herzim, perhaps the Nerzimi or Nercimi of Menavino, evidently a reference to the poet Nesimi.

[2] *Evliya Çelebi, VIII*, 732.

[3] *Kamus ul Âlâm, II*, 1078.

saries who would not have failed to leave their influence both on those who settled there and on the local inhabitants who now found it wise to come into the Moslem faith. So far as the writer has been able to discover there is, however, no direct mention of Bektashis by *Evliya Çelebi*, even in connection with his travels in the seventeenth century. That the doctrines of the Bektashis are clearly there, and probably the Bektashis themselves, is shown, nevertheless, by many a reference. In one place he met people who were doing all they could to spread abroad a hatred of the Umayyad Caliphs, *Muaviye*, and *Yezit.*[1] They refused to wear blue because *Muaviye* wore that colour. They would not drink *boza*[2] because *Muaviye* made and consumed the beverage. This attitude, common to all Shiis, is very characteristic of the Bektashis with their emphasis on *Teberrâ*,[3] or hatred of those who do not love the family of the Prophet. At Ergeri he met people who on occasions failed to observe the canonical prohibition against strong drink, and who observed in their religious practices New Year's Day and the festival of *Sarı Saltık*, the Bektashi saint.[4] At Elbasan he found a tekke of dervishes who followed the Way of the Family of the Mantle, *erbabı tariki alı abai dervişan*. This description may not be proof that the dervishes of this tekke were Bektashis, but it is at least just the title that might be used if they were. At Pugrados, *Evliya* found what he called "several tekkes of *Abdal* Dervishes, *tekkei dervişan abdalan*,[5] again using the descriptive word "*Abdal*" which is often used as synonymous with the word Bektashi.

On my visit to Albania in October, 1933, although I had no time for a thorough search, it became apparent that in the city of Kruje, Bektashiism certainly went back to the early seventeen hundreds. In front of the *Zaviye* of *Mürteza* Baba there was a tombstone bearing the Bektashi *tac* on the top and dated 1141 (1728). In the yard about the *Zaviye* of Haji Yahya Baba there were many tombstones bearing the Bektashi symbols. One of them, unfortunately with the top broken off, was dated 1130 (1717).

[1] *Evliya* VIII, 679.

[2] *Boza*, according to Lane's *Arabian Nights* II No. 51, is a kind of beer, made usually from Barley-bread. It is a drink used widely throughout the Near East even from the time of Herodotus, and is very popular in Turkey to-day.

[3] See above, p. 45, and below, p. 270.

[4] *Evliya*, VIII, 680.

[5] *Evliya Çelebi*, VIII, 745.

The Bektashi tradition, as described by a certain unusually intelligent and well-informed dervish named *Haydar Baba*, is that Bektashi babas came to Albania with the army of *Murat II*, and many of them settled there. A Bektashi named Kasim Baba [1] is believed to have come and settled in the time of Muhammad II (1451-1481). *Beyazit II* (1481-1512), whose conquests in Albania are so often mentioned by *Evliya Çelebi*, is said to have endowed many tekkes, and *Haydar Baba* assured me that the *vakfiye's* deeding these properties should be on file at the *Top Kapu Saray* or the *Hazinei Evrak*. Although the writer's endeavours to find such have been unavailing it is to be earnestly hoped that under the enlightened policy of the present Turkish government the public archives will be more and more thrown open for the use of scholars, foreign as well as Turkish, until many an obscure page of History will have received new light.

The only event in the history of the Bektashi Order in Albania that seems quite certain is that *Tepedelenli Ali Paşa*, the Vizir of Epirus, who ruled Albania with a degree of complete independence from about 1790 to 1822, became himself a Bektashi and gave his support to the spread of the order. Certain missionaries of the Bektashi Way like Shemimi [2] were especially influential in winning adherents and in opening tekkes. It was from Shemimi that Ali Pasha is supposed to have received the *nasip* or initiation, and the great tekke in the plain below Kruje is named *Şemimi Sultan Tekkesi* after the one who built it in 1802 on the site of the tomb of one of the early traditional missionaries, *Horasanlı Ali Baba*. In the anonymous *Life of Ali Pasha*, published in London in 1823, based largely on the diary of Theophilos Richards, there are two steel engravings of Ali Pasha, one showing him wearing the characteristic *tac* of the Bektashis, the other showing on his head a smaller cap but with the twelve sections symbolic in Bektashi lore and ritual of the twelve Imams. Although Ali Pasha apparently found it easy to be a "pantheist with the Bektadgis" and to drink "repeated bumpers to the health of the Blessed Virgin," [3] with the Christians, these pictures set at rest

[1] Zylfo Baba of the Turan tekke near Korche also told me that Kasim Baba was one of the early Bektashi missionaries particularly in the district of Kastoria Turabi Baba in his *Historija E. Pergjitheshme E Bektashinjvet*, page 54, speaks of Kasim Baba who in 1378 came to Kosturit. In the same year Jemin Baba is said to have come to Vutrine of Naselich, Piri Baba to Djunia of Kayler and Hüsseyn Baba to Konitsa.

[2] Not Sheikh Mimi as spelt in Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* 548 ff. More than once Bektashi friends in Albania sought to correct me on this point.

[3] *The Life of Ali Pasha*, page 60.

any doubt as to the fact of Ali Pasha's having been a publicly recognized member of the Bektashi Order.

6. *The Literary Activity of the Bektashis in the Second Period*

Since the significance of Bektashi writings lies in their contents rather than in their quantity or their outer effect, and since Bektashi doctrines and beliefs will be studied in a separate chapter, it is important only to note in this study of Bektashi history that in the Second Period as well as in the first the Bektashi Order produced a large number of poets who attained to wide fame. They wrote in the language of the common people, using the syllable meter characteristic of Turkish literature rather than in forms copied from Persian literature as did the classic writers of the so-called Palace literature. *Sadettin Nüzhet Bey* in his *Bektaşı Şairleri* gives a brief biographical sketch and selections from the poems of each of seven writers in the sixteenth century, nine writers in the seventeenth century and four in the eighteenth century. At least two of the Bektashi poets of this period have had their verse collected and printed in book form. *Pir Sultan Abdal* was a poet of the seventeenth century and a monograph on him containing one hundred and five of his poems has been printed in a series of Texts and Researches Concerning the Musician-poets (*Saz Şairleri*) of the seventeenth century.[1] *Karaca Oğlan*, a Janissary musician-poet, and therefore also a Bektashi, is the subject of a three-hundred-and-twelve-page book by *Sadettin Nüzhet Bey*.[2] In the section on Doctrines and Beliefs an attempt will be made to analyze Bektashi Literature at least to the extent of seeking to understand the signs by which a Bektashi poem can be distinguished. The fact must be acknowledged here, however, that all that passes to-day by the name of Bektashi Literature is not the property of Bektashis alone. Bektashi Literature, so-called, rather is a mixture of *Bektaşı, Ahi, Abdal, Hurufı, Kızılbaş, Kalenderı* and *Haydern* doctrines, the distinguishing features being emphasis upon yearning for God *aşk*; the trinity of God, Muhammad and Ali; the Family of the Mantle, *Alıaba*; the divinity of *Fazlullah*; the hidden significance of letters; the indistinguishableness of Haji Bektash Veli from Muhammad and Ali; the difficulties of the Way; and traditional anecdotes concerning those who have been trained among the Bektashis.[3]

[1] *Türk Sazşairlerine ait metinler ve tetkikler* III, Istanbul, 1929.
[2] *Karaca Oğlan, Hayatı ye Eserleri, Ikbal Kütüphanesi*, Istanbul, 1933.
[3] *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, Sadettin Nüzhet*, Istanbul, 1931, page 248.

7. *The Janissaries*

It remains in this effort to narrate some of the outstanding events in the history of the Bektashi Order to develop in somewhat greater detail the relation of the military order of the Janissaries to the mystic religious order of Bektashis. The early relationship between the Janissaries at the time of their beginning and some leader or leaders of the already widespread Bektashi dervishes has already been described on page 46 ff. Down through history Bektashi Babas accompanied the Janissary troops, acting in the capacity of chaplains. An official representative, *vekil*, of Haji Bektash lived in the barracks of the ninety-fourth Orta.[1] The head of the Bektashi Order, on being appointed to his place, is said to have come by custom to Istanbul where after a formal procession, his *tac* was placed on his head by the *Aga* or Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries.[2] Count Marsigli, who as a prisoner was with the Turkish army at the siege of Vienna in 1682, said that the *Aga* of the Janissaries used to rise up in the Divan at the mention of Haji Bektashi's name.[3] The Janissaries were sometimes called Sons of Haji Bektash, *Haci Bektaş Oğulları*. *Selim III*, in appealing to the Janissaries to be loyal and brave, in the second year of his reign, 1789, addressed them as the Lads or Servants of Haji Bektash, *Haci Bektaş Köçekleri*.[4] In becoming enrolled as members of the Janissary corps a vow of faithfulness to the Way of Haji Bektash was extracted from each soldier.[5] To show in further detail how not only the formal attachment to the Bektashi Way, but the theology and mysticism of Bektashiism, even the figures of speech used by Bektashi poets as well, entered into the forms and ceremonies of the Janissary Order it will perhaps be of interest to give here a translation of a discharge paper of a Janissary soldier. The paper is dated 1238 (1822) and is as follows[6] :

[1] Encycl. of Islam, article Janissaries ; *Tarihi Cevdet* XII, page 180.
[2] *Tarihi Cevdet* XII, p. 180.
[3] Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Oct., 1934, 631.
[4] *Tarihi Cevdet* IV, 363.
[5] *Djevat's Etat Militaire Ottoman*, chapter VII, Art. IV.
[6] The certificate from which I have made this translation I found in the home of *Cemal Efendi*, a professional Caligrapher (*hattat*) and assistant Sexton (*Kayyum*) at the *Eyüp Sultan* mosque. At the bottom in small letters were statements, attesting that this copy both in wording and decoration was an exact copy of the original. The statements, one of them by the famous pointer *Ali Riza Bey*, were as follows : It conforms to the original. Teacher of Painting, *A. Riza*. The original being in my possession I drew an exact copy of this document for *Cemal*, the Virtuous, Dr. *A. Süheyl*.

I Have Trusted in God.

Company (*Bülük*) 45.

We are believers from of old. We have confessed the unity of Reality. We have offered our head on this Way. We have a prophet, *Ahmedi Muhtar Cenap*. Since the time of the Heroes (*Erler*)[1] we have been the intoxicated ones. We are the moths in the divine fire. We are a company of wandering dervishes (*serseri divaneler*) in this world. We cannot be counted on the fingers; we cannot be finished by defeat. No one outside of us knows our state. The Twelve Imams, the Twelve Ways, we have affirmed them all, the Three, the Seven, the Forty, the Light of the Prophet, the Beneficence (*Kerem*) of Ali, our *Pir*, the head sultan, Haji Bektash Veli. In one thousand two hundred and thirty-eight, in conformity with the benevolent arrangement established by the Law-Giver, the Conqueror, *Sultan Suleyman Han* whose place is in Paradise and whose abode is Heaven, and by permission of the *Ağa* of the Soup-Makers (*Çorbacı*) and with the knowledge of all the elders this Discharge Certificate (*Suffa*) has been given to *Mahmut* who has sought and desired it, and whose name is written in the Record-book of the Way. When required let it be shown.

(Seal)
I have trusted in God
Commander (*Usta*)
Hüseyin.

(Seal of)
Mehmet
Chief of the Barrack
(*Oda Başi*)
12 38
45

It will be, perhaps, only after our study of Beliefs and Doctrines in a later chapter that we will be able to see how completely identified with the Bektashis this document shows the Janissaries to have been.

The recognition, however, of Bektash's authority as Patron Saint and the formal acceptance of various doctrines does not seem to have accomplished much in the way of spiritualizing the Janissary way of life. Although their numbers were never very great, 12,000 in the time of *Suleyman* (1520-1566), 27,000 during the reign of *Murat III* (1574-1595), increasing to 45,000 under Muhammad III (1595-1603), and to 47,000 under *Ahmet I* (1603-1617[2])—their power became quickly apparent and was

[1] A term used of the Mystic Saints.
[2] Barbier de Maynard in *Nouveau Melangs Orientaux*, page 62, No. 1: Paris 1886. Count Marsigli reports that old Registers show 12,000 in the time of Suleyman. In his own time, reign of Muh. IV, 1680, they had increased to 54,000 J.R.C.A.S., Oct., 1934, 632.

used by them to terrorize Sultans and to make and unmake grand-vizirs. From the time of *Selim I* in 1512 they demanded gifts from each Sultan on his accession. When they upset their cauldrons it was a sign of revolt, and peace for the Sultan could only be purchased by granting their demands. They made trouble for Muhammad II on his second accession to the throne in 1451; they mutinied under *Suleyman I*, but were later won to his loyal support; they revolted against *Osman II* and succeeded in deposing him; their mutinies broke out several times during the reign of *Murat IV* until he finally restored them to complete discipline[1]; *Selim III's* attempt (1789-1807) to form a regular army so enraged them that they not only struggled against him but even succeeded in getting their Sovereign imprisoned and finally assassinated.[2]

Not only a terror for the Sultans, they were equally so for the civilian population. William Goodell, writing in 1853, said that when he first went to Turkey human life was of less value than a sea-gull or a porpoise. "Two Janissaries swaggering along in the streets of Constantinople, in these dark times, would see a Greek walking at a little distance before them, and would lay a wager that they could shoot him down, and one of them would immediately fire upon him, and whether the man was killed or only wounded, it mattered nothing to them; they would walk on, as though nothing had happened; and no notice would be taken of it by the police."[3]

This state of affairs could hardly be expected to last for ever. In 1808 a determined monarch, *Mahmut II*, came to the throne. Trained under his older cousin, *Selim III*, he realized both the need for reform and the danger of the Janissary Corps. A new body of regular soldiers he named *Eşkinci*, reviving an old name once given to the Janissaries when on active service. The announcement of this corps led to a revolt of the Janissaries. Acting with the greatest decision, *Mahmut* brought out the standard of the prophet, called on the people for support, then after a night of preparation, using the Mosque of Ahmet as the base of manœuvres, he sent in the morning the gunners and marines of the navy in one column and the bombardiers and sappers in another against the revolting Janissaries in their quarters on the *Et Meydan*. The great gate of the barracks was barricaded but

[1] Creasy's *History of the Ottoman Turks*, p. 128, 164, 243, 250, 481.
[2] Encycl. of Islam, article Janissaries.
[3] *The Old and the New*, William Goodell, M. W. Dodd, 1853, p. 43.

fell under cannon fire. Fire was set to the barracks and before night the great Janissary Corps had been wiped out.[1] This was on the fifteenth of June, 1826. The most accurate estimate seems to be that four thousand Janissaries were killed in the battle. Many thousands additional were executed in various cities of the Empire. The end of the corps was complete. Even the name was proscribed.[2]

That the destruction of these military Sons of Haji Bektash should have a great effect on the tekkes of the Bektashi Order was inevitable. The leaders of other dervish orders, as well as the more orthodox *ulema* of the capital, proceeded immediately to bring in their reports of the heretical teachings of the Bektashis. On being faced with this evidence the Sultan ordered his representatives all over the country to search the Bektashi tekkes, and to suppress the order. In Constantinople the Bektashi tekkes in the following places were razed to the ground: *Rumeli Hisar, Oküz Limanı, Kara Ağaç, Yedi Kule, Sütlüce, Eyüp, Usküdar, Merdebanli Köy,* (*Merdivenköy*) and *Çamlıca.* All the books found in the tekkes were confiscated and the dervishes were placed under arrest. It was reported that in the tekkes pages of the Kuran were found in unseemly places, used for covers of pitchers, and otherwise treated with disrespect. A great meeting was called not only of the learned orthodox *ulema*, but of the heads of other dervish orders as well. Representatives of the *Mevlevı's, Nakşibendı's, Halvetı's, Sadı's and* and *Kadirı's* are said to have been present. It was decided that the leaders among the Bektashis should be put to death, and others sent into exile. Those executed were *Kayncı Baba*, Istanbul *Ağası Zade Baba* and *Salih Baba.*[3] According to *Esat Efendi*, the official chronicler of the time, the following Babas in Constantinople were exiled: *Mahmut Baba* of *Şehitlik* tekke at Rumeli Hisar with seven of his dervishes to *Kayseri*, *Ahmet Baba* of *Oküz Limanı* and *Hüseyin Baba* of *Kazlı Çeşme* to *Hadim*, *Ibrahim Baba* who was called the *Vekil* or representative of Haji Bektash, and *Mustafa Baba* of *Bademli* tekke in *Sütlüce* together with several others to *Bergi*, *Yusuf Baba* to *Güzel Hisar*, and *Mehmet Baba* of the *Tahir Baba* tekke in *Çamlıca*, and *Ahir Mehmet Baba* of *Merdivenköy*, and *Mustafa Baba* of the *Mürüvet Baba* tekke in *Üsküdar* to *Tire.*[4]

[1] Encycl. of Islam, article Janissaries.
[2] Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, page 505.
[3] *Tarihi Cevdet*, XII, 182.
[4] *Ussü Zafer, Esat Efendi,* pages 210-213.

These apparently saved their lives by giving answers when they were examined, indicating that they were orthodox followers of Sunni Islam. That is, they employed the device of *takiye*, or dissimulation, which we shall see in the chapter on Beliefs is accepted as a legitimate form of defence. So despised for a time were all Bektashis that one man having a grudge against another could in no more effective way do him an injustice than by accusing him of Bektashi affiliations. *Cevdet Paşa* in his History gives a list of men sent into exile who, he says, were innocent of the charge of being Bektashis.[1]

For a time the Bektashi properties were turned over to *Nakşibendi* dervishes, and from this time apparently dates the presence in the head tekke at Haji Bektash Village of a *Nakşibendi* representative.

With the annihilation of the thoroughly corrupt Janissary corps and the accompanying attempt to completely wipe out the Bektashi Order comes to an end what we have called the Second Period of Bektashi history. It has been a period in which new beliefs have been added from outside to the relatively simple teachings of Haji Bektash. Under *Balım Sultan* also, at the beginning of this period, rites and ceremonies appear to have taken on their fixed forms. Proceeding very carefully, with every effort to appear outwardly orthodox, the Bektashi Order spread and became powerful, only to meet in 1826 a disaster which appeared to have permanently wiped out the order. As the official chronicler of the time wrote, no one in Bektashi garb was any more to be seen.[2] How final the end really was we shall see in our story of the Third Period.

C.—THE THIRD PERIOD OF BEKTASHI HISTORY

1. *Growth of the Order from 1826 to 1925*

At the end of the previous section we left the leaders of the Bektashi Order in exile or in hiding. The attempt to exterminate the Bektashis as well as the Janissaries was apparently as thorough-going as *Mahmut II* dared to make it. Bektashis to-day report that he vowed to execute seventy-thousand Bektashis, and that when he could not find that many to behead he ordered headpieces to be cut off Bektashi tombstones until the count should be complete! When later the Bektashi Order began

[1] *Tarihi Cevdet*, XII, 183.
[2] *Ussü Zafer*, 213; *Tarihi Cevdet*, XII, 183.

again to thrive, the memory of *Mahmut II* was naturally something at which Bektashis shuddered. It is said that it became their custom to spit and utter a curse whenever they passed the tomb of *Mahmut* on *Divan Yolu* in Istanbul.

How soon the Bektashis in hiding came out into the open and began the rebuilding of their tekkes and the gathering in of new dervishes is not clear. It is certain that by 1849, only twenty-three years after the attempt to destroy them, the order was again established in considerable strength. In the possession of the writer is a manuscript book containing a description of both doctrines and practices of the order and certified correct in the year 1266 (1849) by *Seyit Mahmut* of the *Şehitlik tekke* in Rumeli Hisar. In the following year, 1850, an Englishman named Charles MacFarlane,[1] published an account of his travels through Turkey in 1847. He lived during those travels on intimate terms with one or two Bektashi leaders and became convinced that at that time the order was rapidly on the increase. Particularly in Brusa and throughout the Brusa plain he found them numerous. The religious indifferentism of the Turkish people, he felt sure, would tend to swell the ranks of the Bektashis. All the other travellers he met bore the same testimony, that Bektashis at that time not only existed but in so great numbers as to be a menace to the orthodox faith of Muhammadanism. In spite of all his efforts, however, he found it impossible to get accurate information about the real nature of the order. *Yakup Kadri Bey* in his Explanatory Preface to the Second Edition of his highly critical study in novel form of the Bektashi Way,[2] says that the element of secrecy, in recent years so characteristic of the order, had its beginning at the time of the extermination of the Janissary corps. Altogether too extensive to be wiped out, fear for their lives drove them under cover. As the early Christians worshipped in secret in the catacombs, so the Bektashis after 1826 were enabled to maintain their worship only by preserving the strictest secrecy. Since there is so much in the Bektashi faith that would shock the leaders of orthodox Sunni Islam it seems altogether probable, however, that in a land avowedly Sunni, secrecy had always been necessary. But the need was most certainly accentuated by the dangers of 1826.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Bektashiism was

[1] *Turkey and Its Destiny*, London, 1850 I, 496-507.
[2] *Nur Baba*, 2nd Edition, Istanbul, 1923, p. 7.

not only widespread, but finding influence in high places as well. According to Lucy Garnett,[1] Besmi Sultan, a legal wife of *Sultan Abdul Mecit* (1839-1861), attributed her elevation to that high and unusual position to the fact that she had once stood on a "wishing stone" in the grounds of the famous Bektashi tekke at *Merdivenköy* near Istanbul. This stone standing near the grave of *Azbi Çauş*, a famous saint in Bektashi lore, possessed the power, dervishes asserted, to grant the wish of anyone standing on it. Whether through the influence of this Besmi Sultan or of someone else, it is certain that by the year 1869 Bektashis felt assured that in the government there existed influences that were being exerted powerfully in their defence. The list of Bektashi books published in the nineteenth century is of great interest. The writer has been able to find no printed book expounding Bektashi ideas until about 1869 unless it is the *Tahmis* by *Azbi Baba*, published in 1284 (1867). From 1284 (1867) on, however, there is a considerable series of out and out Bektashi books, books which would never have been allowed unless they were receiving protection from those in authority. In 1286 (1869) there appeared in printed form the *Divan of Eşref Oğlu*. Supposedly not himself a Bektashi,[2] *Eşref Oğlu* was nevertheless one of the most popular poets among the Bektashis. In the same year the Divan of Nesimi was published. Nesimi also was not a Bektashi, but he was a Hurufi, and in the printing of his poems, doctrines current among the Bektashis found public expression. In 1288 (1871) appeared the *Aşkname*[3] of *Firişte Oğlu* giving the Bektashi interpretation of the Hurufi great book, the *Cavidan*. In the same year the *Makalât* of *Cafer Sadık*,[4] and the *Makalât* of Haji Bektash, the latter under the name *Vilayetname*, both were printed. Two years later the Sunni leaders of Constantinople replied with the violent attack on the Bektashis contained in *Ishak Efendi's* book, *Kâşif ul Esrar*.[5] The same year *Virani Baba's Risale*, or treatise, appeared, another Hurufi book from the Bektashi point of view. In 1293 (1876) the *Miratül Mekasit* was printed, a careful defence of the Bektashis, essentially a reply to the *Kâşif ul Esrar*. Many Bektashis believe that this legalized publication of Bektashi ideas was made possible by the mother

[1] *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey*, 73.
[2] See *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 2 No. 2; *Tahir Bey's Osmanlı Muelifleri*, I, 17.
[3] More correctly *Işkname*, but called almost invariably *Aşkname* in Turkey.
[4] Usually called in manuscript copies *Makamâtı Evliya*.
[5] Translated in Jacob's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis*, Berlin, 1908.

of *Sultan Aziz* who was said herself to be a Bektashi.[1] The claim is made that both the *Vilayetname* and the *Aşkname* were published in 1288 under her secret protection, and that the *Miratül Mekasit*, which came out in 1293 in answer to the *Kâşif ul Esrar*, was printed at her expense. However this particular fact may be, it remains true that during the years 1869 to 1876 there was this unprecedented burst of open publicity. Following the accession to the throne of *Abdul Hamit* there appears to have been no more Bektashi publications until *Rıfkı Baba's Bektaşı Sırrı* appeared in 1909 (1325) after the overthrow of *Hamit*. This was followed in 1911 (1327) by the publication of the *Mudafaa*, an answer to *Bektaşı Sırrı*, containing a detailed argument with documents to prove that Haji Bektash was married and that the author, *Çelebi Ahmed Cemaleddin*, was a descendant. In the same year there was printed the *Divan* of *Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dede Baba* of the *Merdivenköy* tekke.

Although Bektashi publications appear to have been limited until the recent years of the Republic to the books mentioned,[2] there was, nevertheless, a very great literary activity during both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Sadettin Nüzhet Bey* lists sixty-one poets in this period in his *Bektaşı Şairleri*, and indicates that at the time of publication of that book, 1930, there were at least six living Bektashi poets. Of these poets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the most famous are probably *Turabi* who died in 1868, *Edip Harabi*, 1852-1915, and *Hilmi Dede Baba*, 1842-1907. Another poet of quite a different type is the philosopher, *Riza Tevfik Bey*, a man deeply learned in western as well as eastern philosophy, and at the same time beloved by Bektashis as the author of many a *nefes* or Bektashi hymn.[3]

2. *The Organization of the Order*

To maintain the wide organization distributed through the

[1] One Bektashi who had been both a Baba and a *Halife* told me his understanding was that *Abdul Aziz's* mother was initiated by *Emin Baba* at the *Edirne Kapısı Dergâhı*.

[2] Three other books of importance should also be mentioned, all printed without dates, but probably in the period from 1871-1875. One is the *Risale* of *Kaygusuz Sultan*; another the *Hüsniye*, a very interesting book purporting to be a theological debate before the court of *Harun Reşit* between a slave girl trained under *Cafer Sadık* and orthodox religious leaders of the day; the third, the *Divan* of *Turabi Baba*. In 1878 (1295), a reply to the *Hüsniye* entitled *Tezkiyei Ehli Beyt*, "The Purifying of the People of the House," written by *Ishak Efendi*, was lithographed. Two other exceptions are *Bektaşilik ve Bektaşiler* by *Süreyya Baba* in 1914 (1330-32) and *Bektaşı Hikâyeleri* in 1922 (1338).

[3] *Riza Tevfik Bey* is also the author of the Étude sur la Religion des Houroufis in Huart's *Textes Houroufis*.

Balkans as well as Asia Minor a definite plan appears to have been followed. The rival heads of the order were located in Haji Bektash Village near *Kır Şehir*. A *Çelebi*, claiming descent from Haji Bektash himself, was recognized as the rightful head of the order by some Bektashis, and was especially the recognized leader of the Kizilbash tribes throughout the country. A representative of the *Çelebi* was at regular periods sent to visit the Kizilbash villages, to give instruction and to receive contributions. On visiting the central tekke at Haji Bektash Village, Kizilbash villagers always called on the *Çelebi* who is said to have required payment of a *mecidiye* (formerly 80 cents) in order to see him. The majority of Bektashis, holding to the belief that Haji Bektash had no descendants in the flesh, accepted as their head a *Dede* who also resided at Haji Bektash Village. He was surrounded by eight Babas who formed with him an Executive Council. These Babas were called *Kiler Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Storeroom"; *Aş Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Kitchen"; *Ekmek Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Bakery"; *Mihman Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Guest House"; *At Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Stables"; *Han Bağı Babası*, "Baba of the *Han* Vineyards"; *Dede Bağı Babası*, "Baba of the *Dede* Vineyards"; and *Balım Evi Babası*, "Baba of the Tomb of *Balım Sultan*," each Baba being responsible for one of the buildings on the premises or for one of the sets of vineyards round about.[1] It is said that at one time there were three hundred and sixty-two villages belonging to the tekke, the revenue running as high as 60,000 pounds sterling a year.[2] This income was divided between the two rival heads, the *Dede* and the *Çelebi*. Each year just preceding the month of *Muharrem* representatives of the Executive Council went into every section of the Bektashi world, in order to gather from each tekke a financial report and a record of new dervishes. These reports, together with the money left over as surplus above expenses in each tekke, were brought back to the central tekke in Haji Bektash Village. The money went into the general treasury from which funds were drawn for the needs of the tekkes where there had been

[1] For a description of the tekke at Haji Bektash Village see *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 2nd vol. pages 365-382. Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam* contains a picture of the tekke as frontispiece in Vol. I and has a description of the tekke on pages 502-504. White's article in *The Contemporary Review* Nov., 1913, gives an excellent account of a visit to the Tekke. He points out that it is located on the probable site of a sacred shrine in the days of Hittite civilization.

[2] Hasluck, p. 503.

deficits.[1] It is the rather proud boast of Bektashis that tekkes were so located that not over six hours' journey (about 15 miles) lay between any two. In this way they claim that it was possible to travel all over the Empire and always stay for the night in Bektashi tekkes.

In addition to the Executive Council of eight Babas and the *Dede* in Haji Bektash Village there were also appointed *Halifes*, or special representatives of the *Dede*, with authority to make Babas and to supervise definite areas under their control.

3. *The Abolition of All Dervish Orders*

Having given in this brief form a sketch of some of the significant events in the history of the Bektashi Order it remains to give the reasons for the act of the Turkish Republic in 1925 abolishing all tekkes and the dervish organizations which supported them. From the beginning, the dervish orders have taught veneration for their spiritual leaders. In the traditional story of Haji Bektash we have seen how miracles were attributed to him. In all of the dervish orders the same credulous faith in the power of the holy man to accomplish miracles of healing and miracles intended merely to bring amazement and wonder has been encouraged. In 1837, *Mahmut II*, the Sultan who had exterminated the Janissaries and had attempted to do away with the Bektashi faith and practice, was one day attacked by a fanatical dervish as he was crossing the Galata Bridge. The dervish called him an unbeliever and said he was destroying Islam. The Sultan, fearing the effect of the dervish's words on the crowds gathering around, commanded his officers to remove the madman. "Mad," replied the dervish, "I mad! It is thou and thy base counsellors who have lost your reason! Crowd hither, O Musulmans! the Spirit of God which animates me, and which I am forced to obey, hath ordered me to speak the truth, and hath promised me the reward of the saints!" Of course the man was arrested and put to death, but friends claimed his body, and the next day the report was spread that a brilliant light had appeared throughout the night over the tomb of the martyr. Ubicini, whose famous *Letters on Turkey* appeared in 1853, speaking of this incident said[2]: "It is by means

[1] This statement of their procedure was given me by a Bektashi Baba in Albania.

[2] Letters on Turkey, M. A. Ubicini, translated by Lady Easthope, John Murray, 1886, I, p. 108.

of such pretended miracles, which are repeated every day, even under the eyes of the authorities, that the dervishes keep up the old superstitions in men's minds, together with a belief in their supernatural power. An Osmanli, who holds a high post in the state, said to me one day, 'Depend upon it our ministers are labouring in vain, and civilization will never penetrate into Turkey so long as the tekiehs and the turbehs (tombs) remain standing.'" If that appeared true in 1850, it seemed many times more true in the early years of the Turkish Republic, for the Republic had definitely set its hand to the task of bringing Turkey into the front rank of modern, civilized nations. In 1925 the same belief in the supernatural powers of the holy men, whether living or dead, was being taught to the people by the dervish leaders. In addition there was the possibility of breeding in the secrecy of mystic orders such fanatical reaction as was shown by the man who faced Mahmut II on the Galata Bridge in 1837.

For a time there was the hope on the part of some that the Bektashis would be exempted from any general prohibition of dervish orders. There were many who felt that the Bektashi Order in its literary tradition, in its secret ritual, and in its more liberal attitude toward social and religious problems had preserved down through history such traces of the original Turkish culture as still persisted. The point was argued therefore that, far from abolishing the order, Bektashiism should be made the religion of the whole Turkish people.

On the 20th of November, 1925, however, Law No. 677[1] was passed by the Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey, closing all tekkes and *zaviyes*. It was forbidden for such functions to be performed as had formerly gone with such titles as *şeyh, baba, seyit, mürşit, dede, çelebi and halife*. Such practices, which had formerly catered to the credulous, as fortune telling, magic, breathing,[2] giving news of the unseen world were also forbidden. All tombs of the Sultans and all tombs in con-

[1] *Resmı Gazete*, No. 243. *Kanunlarımız*, vol. 2, p. 1012.

[2] Until the most recent times in Turkey it has been the custom for certain holy men to practise a process of "breathing" or "blowing." The patient who is being treated either for a physical, mental or nervous disorder is placed in front of the practitioner who goes into a kind of trance, at intervals blowing in the direction of the one being treated. The breath, thought of as the essence of one's self, was believed to carry healing virtue to the patient. Many, even in high places, were convinced by this experience that cases for which doctors could do nothing could be cured by this "*üfürükçülük*." *Milliyet* newspaper for Nov. 19, 1934 reports an arrest of a man for practising *üfürükçülük*, "breathing." Cf. p. 53, No. 2.

nection with tekkes were also declared closed. Penalties of not less than three months in prison and not less than fifty liras fine were specified for any who ventured to violate this law. A later law was passed requiring that all articles within the tekkes, candles, swords, wall pictures, begging bowls, musical instruments, etc., should be held for the use of the Ethnographical Museum.[1] To-day in Ankara many of the more interesting of the costumes and relics especially from the central tekke at Haji Bektash Village are to be found in the Ethnographical Museum. By the same law all books were to be turned over to the library authorities to be preserved for the use of future historians and students.

4. *Bektashiism To-day*

Within the borders of Turkey itself the energetic measures of the government have ensured the complete cessation of any visible sign of activity on the part of dervishes of all sorts. Many Bektashis, as has been already point out, claim[2] that they are content with the situation as it is, feeling that government action has now ensured for all the social life which formerly was to be found only in the secret ritual of the Bektashi Order. *Ziya Bey*, writing in *Yeni Gün* in 1931, ends his series of studies about the Bektashi Way with the statement that the Bektashi ritual with the presence of men and women mingling on a social equality was really a continuation of the old Turkish national rites, made possible, through the period when orthodox Sunni religious leaders controlled affairs, only by secret gatherings in tekkes built apart from other habitations. Now under the Republic this freer social life is made possible for all. "What difference," says *Ziya Bey*, "is there between the *Aynicem* of the Bektashis and the family gatherings which constitute society in all the world, and which are accepted as the right and necessity for every civilized man?"[3]

Suppressed in Turkey the order is still strong in Albania. Recognized by the government as one of the accepted religions of the country, numbering some 150,000 or 200,000 souls, the Bektashi Order is continuing its activities in conformity to a printed set of regulations approved by the government.[4] The

[1] *Resmi Gazete*, No. 248.
[2] See above, page 20.
[3] *Yeni Gün*, 8 *Mart*, 1931.
[4] Rregullore e Bektashijvet Shqiptare, Tirane, 1930.

whole country is divided into six dioceses, Prishte, Kruja, Elbasan, Korcha, Frasheri and Gjinokaster. Government is through Local Councils and a mixed Council of twelve members elected by secret ballot, two from each diocese, one being a Father or Grandfather, the other an Initiated or Confirmed Member. Another assembly called the Holy Council of Grandfathers is made up of the diocesan heads with the Arch-grandfather, whose seat is at Tirana, the capital of the country, acting as chairman. The Regulations provide for the possibility of a theological seminary for the training both of clergy and of candidates for confirmation.

Many of the leaders in Albania to-day are Albanian Bektashis who had their training in Turkey under the old régime, and who have now returned to their fatherland in positions of influence. Not as numerous as the Sunni Moslems, the Bektashi community nevertheless constitutes some fifteen to twenty per cent. of the total population of the country, and is recognized by all as one of the worthiest elements in the population.

Outside of both Turkey and Albania Bektashi tekkes exist in scattered parts of the Near East, the most famous one being the beautiful Kaygusuz Tekke on the Mokattam at Cairo.

CHAPTER III

DOCTRINES AND BELIEFS

In any attempt to give as complete and accurate a picture as an outsider can reasonably expect to acquire of the Beliefs of the Bektashi Order, one confronts at the outset the difficulty of fitting the beliefs into a consistent system. No ecumenical council has ever been held of the Bektashi world in order to sift out truth from error and to arrange a statement of belief authoritative over all. Rather has there been through time a gradual accretion, new beliefs added to old, until as one to-day approaches a study of Bektashi beliefs through their own literature one finds a confused mass of beliefs which had their origins in diverse times and places. No attempt has been made to bring them together into a unified system. Not only is there a vast body of beliefs of many kinds, but also Bektashis themselves do not agree with one another either in regard to order of importance, or even in common confession of identical beliefs.[1] The range of belief is wide, varying from the crudest superstition on the part of ignorant Bektashis up to a virtual solipsism[2] or belief that no one exists but oneself, and even to a definitely materialistic atheism. The belief about immortality varies from a conviction that the soul on death passes into the body of an animal whose characteristics resemble the quality of one's life to a complete disbelief in anything at all after death. Nevertheless, there is a certain consistency in literary expression. Conventional forms have arisen around conceptions so commonly held that the thought of all takes those forms whether definitely believed by the individual or not. This is true, for example, of the so-called *devriye*, or poem describing the cycle of creation.[3] The belief that God has appeared in many manifestations has simply taken among Bektashis this classic form.

[1] This fact is illustrated by a statement made to me by Prof. *Hüseyin Pektaş* who says that he has seen Bektashis anathematize each other over their beliefs, one Bektashi differing in belief from another as much as any Sunni from a Shii.

[2] According to the Turkish philosopher, *Riza Tevfik Bey*, himself an initiated Bektashi, this is really the philosophical position reached in the *Risalei Kaygusuz Sultan*.

[3] See below, page 120 ff.

In dividing the beliefs of the Order as we have attempted to do here it should be kept in mind that the division is not a natural one. There is undoubtedly overlapping from one category to another. The Characteristic Pecularities are not to be found in Bektashiism alone. The points of view described, nevertheless, have such a characteristic emphasis and expression that they serve often as aids in identifying the Bektashi source of a poem or a story. In the section entitled Beliefs Held in Common With Other Orders there are described many doctrines that have their Bektashi peculiarities; and in discussing Doctrines Peculiar to the Bektashis there is no intention of claiming exclusive proprietorship over those beliefs by the Bektashis alone. The classification is only roughly descriptive of the actual facts. It is intended to serve chiefly as a convenience in arrangement.

A.—CERTAIN CHARACTERISTIC PECULIARITIES

1. *Wit*

Before taking up in detail the beliefs commonly held among Bektashis it will perhaps be of value to point out that Bektashi writers have in common rather characteristic attitudes toward life and toward their own system of practice and belief. Toward life their attitude is one of witty criticism of the fixed beliefs of the orthodox teachers. It is an attitude in which an atmosphere of Epicurean enjoyment of the world as it is, is mingled with a good-humoured contempt for the intellectual and moral inconsistencies of those who teach the Sunni or orthodox Muhammadan faith. We have already mentioned the prayer of Yunus Emre when he compares God to a grocer attempting to weigh out our deeds of merit.[1] The poem seems an irreverent protest against God and His injustice in first making us as we are, then condemning us if we do wrong. In reality the poem is an absolutely characteristic Bektashi criticism of the Sunni conception of the judgment.[2] Among the first to use this form of expression was *Kaygusuz Sultan*, who lived in the fourteenth century and belonged to the so-called *Abdal Tarik*. Whether or

[1] See above, p. 55.

[2] In the *Risalat al Ghufran* of *Abu-l-'Ala al Ma'arri* J.R.A.S. 1900 pp. 684-686 there is a somewhat similar parody on Muhammadan ideas concerning the after life. Among the Persian poets also the same element of mockery of the pious is common. But this use of mockery among the Bektashis is different. It is not a secret mocking; it is open, at least among themselves, and is the basis of much good humoured bantering. Its prominence among the Bektashis has made it a distinguishing characteristic of their literature.

not he was an actual Bektashi is not certain, but in any case he has been taken up by Bektashis as one of them and both his *Risale* and his *nefes'es* are among the most popular pieces of Bektashi literature. He has even been called the Patron Saint (Pir) of Bektashi poets.[1] In one of the *nefes'es* he expresses himself as follows:

High above the high ones, I have seen,
Thou art the skilful Creator,[2] Great God.
The world reads with words,
Thou readest the syllable, God.

Yücelerden yüce gördüm
Erbapsın sen Koca Tanri
Alem okur kelam ile
Sen okursun hece Tanri.

Thou hast created rebellious slaves,
Saying, Let it ever be thus;
Thou hast placed them there.
Thou hast gone out to the border, God.

Âsi kullar yaratmışsın
Varsın şöyle dursun deyu
Anları koymuş orada
Sen çıkmışsın uca Tanri.

Thou hast created a bridge of hair
Saying, let the slaves come and pass over.
Rather, let us stand here.
If thou art a hero, pass thou over, O God.

Kıldan köprü yaratmışsın
Gelsin kullar geçsin deyu
Hele biz şöyle duralım
Yiğit isen geç a Tanri.

Those who are heroes are known
As so and so, the son of so and so.
Thou hast no mother and no father
Thou resemblest a bastard child, God.

Yiğit olanlar anılır
Filan oğlu filan diye
Ne anan var, ne baban var
Benzersin sen piçe Tanri.

[1] *Halk Şiirlerinin Şekil ve Nevi. Ahmet Talat,* 1928, p. 158.
[2] *Erbab,* literally meaning "proprietors, owners." It is used in common speech to describe a skilful workman.

I am Kaygusuz; from the door of the Friend
From the three hundred thousand cups in a day.
Lift up the curtain from between,
Let us look within, God.

Kaygusuzum deri yardan
Günde üc yüz bin curadan
Kaldır perdeyi aradan
Bakalım içe Tanri.

Paraphrased the poem would seem to say: I have given plenty of consideration to the God of the Sunnis; He is like an owner of property or a workman who accounts for every detail. He made men so that they are by nature rebellious; then he has gone off and left them. He, so the Sunnis say, has made a bridge no wider than a hair and in the judgment all men are to pass over it, those incompetent because of sin and ignorance to fall off into hell. Such a God ought himself, like a man, to try to walk across. But this God so like a man is yet different from men, for he has no father or mother. He has no legitimate cause. I, *Kaygusuz*, turning from that God, the external manlike God of the Sunnis, look to the God I know within my own life. Recognizing reality there I long for the veil of seeming separation to be lifted so that I may experience directly the real.

It is significant that although the first three stanzas of this poem are among the best known of Bektashi poems,[1] the last two are to be found only in manuscript copies in private collections. It is obvious that they are too extreme in their apparent irreverence to bear publication in a country where Sunni conceptions outwardly prevail. To any but the initiated they would seem blasphemous.

Passing over the centuries from *Kaygusuz Sultan* we find in *Edip Harabi*, a modern poet whom many now living remember seeing around Bebek in the early years of this century, the same spirit of light-hearted criticism of the Sunni ideas, coupled with quiet confidence in a better way of thinking[2]:

O devout one, thee to Paradise brings not
The fasting, worship, and ablution which thou takest.
Come, trouble not thyself without reason;
Throw away the coat, the rosary and prayer rug.

[1] See *Halk Şiirlerinin Şekil ve Nevi*, 158; *Bektaşı Şairleri* 199, and *Divan Antolojisi* XIII ve XIV *Asır*, 30.
[2] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 100.

Ey zahit götürmez seni cennete
Aldığın aptesle bu savmu salat
Gel bihude vere girme zahmete
Cübbeyi, tesbihi, seccadeyi at.

Forsaking the water of Zemzem drink wine ;
To drink wine in the real sense is very meritorious ;
Attach thyself to a perfect guide (lit. Patron Saint of fire worshippers) [1]
Let him give you the inward water of life,

Zemzemi terkeyle nuşeyle şarap
Hakikatte şarap içmek pek sevap
Bir pirimugana eyle intisap
Ihsan etsin sana iç abihayat.

Let go Paradise, the houri, [2] the gilman, [3]
With faithfulness attach thy heart to God.
Go not to the mosque, go to the house of idols.
Having found union with God, with God rise, lie down.

Cenneti, huriyi, gilmani terket
Sıtk ile gönlünü Allaha berket
Camilere gitme puthaneye git
Allaha vasil ol Allahla kalk yat.

What you sow upon marble grows not ;
The road of asceticism and hypocrisy leads not to Reality.
Among us it isn't worth five para ;
Sell thy preaching wares to another.

Mermerin üstüne ne eksen bitmez
Zühdü riya ile yol Hakka gitmez
Bizim indimizde beş para etmez
Metai vâzını başkasına sat.

In the case of both of these poems the significance for the Bektashi is lost unless one sees the good-humoured spirit of banter with which the poem is spoken or sung. It is for the initiated a matter of amusement to use language which is outwardly shocking, language to stir the wrath of the orthodox, but which has its definite spiritual meaning for one who knows. Wine is forbidden by the orthodox; for the Bektashi it has ritual-

[1] See *Pirimugan* in glossary of Technical Terms.
[2] The fair maidens of Paradise.
[3] The beautiful youths of Paradise.

istic and mystical meaning.[1] One of the most oft-quoted passages of the Kuran is the twenty-first verse of Sura seventy-six, "And drink of a pure beverage shall their Lord give them." For the orthodox few things can be more shocking than to be told to forsake the mosque and turn to a house of idols. To the Bektashi the idol is rather a term that shows his faith in the presence of God everywhere, a symbol expressing his pantheism.

What the Jew and the Scotsman are to the humour of the Anglo-Saxon world the Bektashi in a somewhat lesser way is to the humour of Turkey; and, as in the case of the Scotsman, no one delights more in the telling of Bektashi stories than the Bektashi himself. Not only circulating by word of mouth, manuscript copies of these stories are to be found, and in 1921 (1337) a collection of them was printed under the name *Bektashi Stories.*[2] In those stories, as witty as those of Nasreddin Hoja, the customs and beliefs of the Bektashis are reflected. With complete good humour the faults and human frailties of the Bektashis are recognized; but each time in wit the Bektashi is superior to his companion; and if his comrade in travel or conversation is a hoja of the orthodox school, the point of the story is likely to turn on the hypocrisy of this straight-laced individual. In one story[3] there is an account of a trip at sea in which a terrible storm arises frightening the passengers who in great anxiety say their prayers, repent from their sins and pray God for deliverance. The Bektashi, however, sits in his corner calmly smoking his pipe, showing no sense of fear or worry. When the storm subsides and the ship lands, one of the passengers who has marvelled at the calmness of the Bektashi asks him, "When we were all in such terror, you continued smoking your pipe as if nothing was happening. Were you not afraid?" "Why should I be, my child," answered the Bektashi. "Didn't you see that there was nothing but a board between us and death?" "Yes, I saw that," replied the Bektashi, "but on land there isn't even that much."

In another anecdote[4] a hoja and a Bektashi are travelling together, the hoja on a horse, the Bektashi on a donkey. The season being summer they stop for the night in a meadow.

[1] Prof. *Hüseyin Pektaş* assures me that actual wine was not used even ritualistically by all Bektashis. He knows of places where a non-intoxicating sherbet was used.

[2] *Bektaşı Hikâyeleri, Naşiri, Suleyman ve Hakki*, 1337.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 7.

Taking from their saddle bags their food they eat supper, then talk together for a time, but before going to bed the hoja offers this prayer: "O Lord, I entrust my horse to thee. Do thou keep it." The Bektashi also prays, "My *Şeyh*, do thou also watch my donkey." The hoja is amazed and exclaims, "Entrust it to God. You are sinning." But the dervish pays no attention to him. They lie down to sleep, and on waking the next morning, they find that the horse is gone while the donkey is still there eating away at the grass. The hoja exclaims, "What sort of a thing is this? The horse which I entrusted to God is gone. But the Bektashi's donkey is still here." And to that the Bektashi replies, "There is no occasion for surprise in this. You are not the only slave[1] of God. He has simply given your horse to another one of his slaves. Whereas I am the only dervish of my *Şeyh*. Naturally, therefore, he watched over my donkey until morning." And the story ends by saying that even the hoja laughed at this explanation.

2. *Mysteriousness*

Along with this tendency to find fun and pleasure in a ridicule of the orthodox religion of Islam, and closely associated with it, is a second quality quite characteristic of the Bektashi point of view. Toward his own system of belief and practice he delights in maintaining an attitude of complete mysteriousness. Since the very words "Bektashi Secret" have entered into the common language of the people he spares no pains to so clothe his expression as to add to the sense of this secret teaching. Delighting in poetry, he especially loves to sing hymns expressing his religious faith. *Nefes'es*[2] as these hymns are called are especially popular if they are so worded as to have no meaning at all for the uninitiated. One *nefes*, for example,[3] which begins by saying,

[1] Or bond-servant.

[2] Literally the word *nefes* means "breath." In the Bektashi use of the word it means a poem breathing the atmosphere of Bektashi doctrines and practice.

[3] This "*nefes*," one of the most popular of all, was written by *Aşık Hasan* called among Bektashis *Karpuzu Büyük Hasan Baba*, "Hasan Baba whose water-melons are large," from the tradition that his water-melons were each large enough to weigh about 40 pounds. The *nefes* quoted from is found in *Bektaşı Şairleri*, pp. 17, 18, and is printed with the musical notes to which it is sung, in *Istanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı, Bektaşı Nefesleri* I, 157. In both of these versions there is a mistake in the second line. *Bahçe bizim gül bizdedir* should be *Bahçe biziz gül bizdedir*, not the "garden is ours," but "we are the garden." In the actual singing of this *nefes*, as Bektashis sing it in the dance following the *aynicem* there is a refrain sung rapidly on high notes at the end of each stanza. The refrain is:—

" We are the garden, the rose is in us," ends by saying,

> " The Letter *Elif* is the straight way to God
> If you seek the (letter) *cim*, the (letter) *dal* is in us."

The first line quoted is a clear reference both to their pantheistic doctrine and also to their confidence in the idea that both truth and the fruits thereof are to be found in them. The last two lines may be easily explained, but it is still possible that the deepest meaning will elude any but the really initiated. To friendly inquirers Bektashis explain the letter " *elif* " because of its shape, straight, pointing upward, as a symbol of the reaching upward of the soul toward God. The *cim* and *dal* are variously explained. *Cim* is said to mean *cemal ullah*, the beauty of God, and *dal* to mean *dalmak*, " to plunge," that is to plunge into the ocean of God's being and of his love. *Cim* is also said to mean *cevap* or " answer," and *dal*, *delalet or delil*, " guidance or the guide." He who seeks, in other words, an answer to his questions about God and life will find a true guide in us. It is not impossible that to the Bektashi the verses mean all this and more. They may have Hurufi meanings to the Bektashi who believes in Hurufiism. The *elif* may stand for the *hatti istiva* or line dividing the two sides of the head. In the printed *Risale* of *Virani Baba* on page 74 there is the statement that the letter *elif* is God, for it is a substitute for the twenty-eight letters. The numerical values of *cim* and *dal* combined equal seven which is the number of lines of the face, all, as we shall see later, having meaning, to the devotee of the doctrine that in the face of man the image of God is to be found. Another *nefes* [1] illustrating the same principle is one which reads :

That which made man man is three letters and five points.
That which made the world the world is three letters and five points.
The son of Ethem, while he was ruler left his throne and crown.
That which made Ethem Ethem is three letters and five points.

> *Aşkı Alim, Alim hu, Şahım Alim, hu*
> *Kerçek erenler demine hu.*

" The love of my Ali, my Ali. He my prince, my Ali He. Hu (literally ' he ') to the reign (literally time or period) of those who have truly attained (to the mystic knowledge of God.)." No small part of the charm of this *nefes* lies in the stirring music of the refrain.

[1] Found with musical notes accompanying in *Istanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı Bektaşı Nefeslerı* II, 224.

O Turabi that which made in one breath the ten thousand worlds,
That which made the world the world is three letters and five points.

Âdemi Âdem eden üç harfile beş noktadır.
Âlemi Âlem eden üç harfile beş noktadır.

Ibni Ethem Padişahken tahtü tacin terkedip
Ethemi Ethem eden üç harfile beş noktadır.

Ey Turabi yek nefeste on sekiz bin Âlemi
Âlemi Âlem eden üç harfile beş noktadır.

Here the reference is clearly to *aşk* " love " which in Arabic letters is written with the three letters *ayın*, *şin*, and *kaf* which require five points. Perhaps under the influence of the Hurufi tendency to put everything in terms of numbers, but also because of the Bektashi's innate love of adding a touch of mysteriousness, that which is for the Bektashi as well as for the other mystics of Islam the creative principle of the universe, the cause for God's projecting out from Himself that in which He can be manifested, is thus described in enigmatic terms. Often, of course, there is a reason for cloaking their thought in a form not to be understood. The principle of self-protection makes it necessary. In addition to that, however, there is a love of mysteriousness for its own sake, a satisfaction and pride in having a secret which the outsider cannot understand.

B.—BELIEFS HELD IN COMMON WITH OTHER TURKISH DERVISH ORDERS

An attempt to classify Bektashi beliefs on any basis is difficult, as has been suggested. The attempt to select out those elements of faith that are peculiar to the Bektashis and those that are held in common with other orders is also difficult and is made so by the fact that there is no clear dividing line. The writings of authorities in one order are often appreciated and much loved in another order. A dervish is often a member of more than one order. Nearly all of the Bektashi ideas can perhaps be found in the writings of one or another of the dervishes of other orders. In this section, therefore, there is no attempt to select out all the ideas held in common by Turkish dervishes. We will attempt only to describe three doctrines which are among the

more notable of those beliefs in which the Bektashis find themselves on common ground with the followers of other ways. Our study will seek not to give a comprehensive picture of the beliefs as the great Moslem mystics have described them. That would be possibly to obscure rather than clarify our understanding of the Bektashi mentality. We will seek rather (even with respect to these doctrines quite evidently held by all Moslem mystics as well as the Turkish mystics) to describe them only from the Bektashi point of view.

1. *The Doctrine of the Mürşit*

The *mürşit* is the one who gives right guidance, *irşat eden.* In the ultimate sense he is the patron saint of the order, Haji Bektash, but practically that leadership is exercised by the Baba of the tekke where the novitiate is to take his initiation. In the chapter on Rites and Ceremonies we shall see the part taken by the Baba acting as *mürşit* in the initiation service. To the Bektashi, the mysteries of the order are such that no one can begin to understand them until he has learned of them, slowly or quickly according to his spiritual abilities, from a living interpreter acting as his *mürşit.* The *Noktatül Beyan*[1] states the doctrine in most definite form. There is no book which can adequately teach Bektashiism. There is no creed which can be understood without the *mürşit's* help. There is no form which can be gone through apart from his leadership, and apart from his interpretation of its meaning. Truths have to be imparted bit by bit. Revealing new truth before the novitiate is prepared to receive it is to the Bektashi a sin. Therefore to become a Bektashi the first step is to find a *mürşit.*[2]

"He who says 'I am a seeker after Muhammet Ali'
Must first—it is essential—find his *mürşit.*"

Muhammet Aliye talibim deyen
Evel farzdır mürşidini bulmalı

for

"There are many mysteries, mysteries within mysteries."

Nice sırlar vardır sırlardan içli.

A man must be born twice, *Virani Baba* in his *Risale* asserts. He must be born from his mother, and he must be born from his

[1] In the *Ali Emiri Ef.* Library in Istanbul there is a MS. copy.
[2] *Bektaşı Şairleri,* 25.

mürşit.[1] That which is born of the mother is flesh. It is a mere copy of something real. One is only born into the world of reality through the influence of the *mürşit.* That which is born of the mother is the " light of darkness," *zulmat nuru.* That which is born from the spiritual leaders is the " Light of Right Guidance," *nuru hidayet.*[2]

" He who has attained to the Spiritual Leaders has become that light."
Her kim erdi pirlere ol nurdur.[3]

" He who has not attained to the mürşit cannot know God."
Mürşidi ermiyen Hakkı bilmez.[4]

" If you have a *mürşit* you may become a human being.
If you have no *mürşit* you will remain an animal."
Mürşidin var ise olursun insan
Mürşidin yok ise kalırsın hayvan.[5]

for

" The breath, or self, of the *mürşit* is the breath, or self of Reality."
Mürşidün nefesi Hak nefesidur.[6]

Since the *mürşit* is so absolutely essential, taking the place of God for the neophyte, it is natural that complete obedience be rendered to him. One surrenders oneself to him and finds in him and in his will the truth one seeks. The following quotations are characteristic of the point of view in this respect :

" Give thy soul in surrender to the *mürşit.*"
Canını mürşide edegör teslim.[7]

[1] In the printed *Risale* p. 19 the word *Pir* is used. Frequently meaning " Patron Saint," the word here clearly is used as synonymous with *mürşit* in the sense of spiritual leader. The same doctrine of a second birth is found on p. 30 in the writer's MS. copy of the *Uyun ul Hidaye,* where Jesus is definitely quoted as saying that " except a man is born twice he cannot ascend to the Kingdom of Heaven." The reference there as here is to birth from the mother and from the *mürşit.*

[2] As is frequently true of such cases, the printed *Risale* is defective, sometimes unintelligible, because of mistakes and omissions. The above passages supplementing the printed *Risale* are taken from my MS. copy, p. 24.

[3] Printed *Risale,* p. 19.

[4] *Bektaşı Şairleri,* 343 *Sırrı.*

[5] *Bektaşı Şairleri,* 373 *Teslim Sultan Abdal.*

[6] Ibid., 149 *Hatayı.*

[7] Ibid., 34, *Bosnavı.*

"Surrender thine own self to the *mürşit*."
Mürşidüne teslim eyle özünü.[1]

"Recognize thy *mürşit* as Reality itself, do not depart from his way."
Mürşidini hak bil çıkma yolundan.[2]

What the *mürşit* teaches to his disciples is perhaps known only to those who receive the teaching. We may assume that in the singing of *nefes'es* allusions are gradually explained until more and more the neophyte finds his way into an understanding of both the symbols and practices of the order. Those beliefs especially which seem most out of accord with the teachings of the orthodox law will doubtless be taught with the greatest care, so that the inquirer will not be too shocked. He might turn away at the start if he knew all he was to learn, for the form of it would repel him, since he does not yet understand and appreciate its deeper meaning.

In a *nefes* by *Ballı Baba* there are these lines:

"A building make upon four walls,
A greeting give to the friend of the four doors.
What is the basis of the three *sünnet's*, the seven *farz*?[3]
One must very secretly attain to these mysteries."

"Find thy *mürşit* then, solve thy difficulty
From thy *mürşit* the solution is to be found,
The *mürşit* will cause thee to meet that city[4]."

Bir bina yap dört duvarın üstüne
Bir selâm ver dört kapunun dostuna
Uç sünnetin, yedi farzın asli ne?
Gizli, gizli, bu sırlara ermeli.

Mürşidini bul da müşkülün ara
Gene mürşidinden bulunur çare
Kavuşturur mürşit seni ol Şara.[5]

In the section immediately following there will be an explanation of the "four doors." Here perhaps it will be well to explain the "three *sünnet's*" and the "seven *farz'es*," for they throw light both on the doctrine of the *mürşit* and on what the *mürşit* teaches his disciple. Since references to these duties

[1] Ibid., 147, *Hatayı*. [2] Ibid., 70, *Derviş Ruhullah*.
[3] A duty in Islamic law is *sünnet* if it must be done in imitation of the Prophet's example. It is *farz* when it is absolutely commanded.
[4] "The city of existence," *vucut şehri*, which in turn is perhaps really a pun on the two meanings of *vucut* for "existence" and for "body." We shall see later that the totality of "existence" is reflected in the "body."
[5] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 25, *Ballı Baba*.

are not common in Bektashi literature it is perhaps safe to assume that some, not all, *mürşit's* would give the teaching in this form.

In a MS. book called the *Sır Name*, "The Mystery Book," contained in a volume of similar material bearing the date 1266 (1849) and attested by *El Vekil Seyit Mahmut Baba* of the *Şehitlik Tekke* in Rumeli Hisar, there is the following explanation:

"Our lord *Imam Cafer Sadık* of the pure sect commands thus: In the Way of Salvation, *tariki naciye*,[1] there are three duties that are *sünnet* and seven that are *farz*. It is necessary for every disciple, *mürit*, and every lover, *aşık*, and every faithful one, and every gnostic, *arif*, to know them.[2] The first *sünnet* is this: never to lose out of heart and mind the thought of the Divine Reality, *Yezdani Hak*, and always to recollect Him. The second *sünnet* is this: to do away with any feeling of hatred there may be toward a brother. The third *sünnet* is for the *mürit* or seeker, to surrender himself and be agreeable to every experience of mystical state, *kahrına ve her halına teslim ve razi ola*."

"The seven *farz'es* are these: First, the person who is a *mürit* and a seeker must recognize all existing things as God, or Reality, and must not reveal to anyone the secret of those who have attained. Just as he guards his faith from Satan, so he must also guard from the outsider the secret of the Way of Salvation, *tariki naciye*. Second, he must be a shield bearer, *siperdar*, that is, he must be a keeper of secrets; he must not see what he sees and what he does not see he must not tell; he must not by any means divulge it. Third, he must meditate on Divine Reality, *Yezdani hak*, for every evil thing comes into being as a result of forgetting the Divine Reality. The slave, *bende*, who does not forget the Divine Reality has become one of those who have attained. Such a person has become a Sultan. Fourth, by degrees to come to really live, *oğrun dirlik etmek*. He must be sure to recognize as the Real the truth which his *mürşit*, teacher, gives him, *mürşit murebbi hakını hak bilmiş ola*, and he must do his will. At the very beginning, having found the *mürşit*, teacher, he will show and reveal to him the unveiled face of God, *hicapsiz cemal ullah*." "The fifth *farz* is: He must bring to the assembly the right of his companion in initiation, (i.e., what is due to the *mürşit* whom

[1] An expression used by the Bektashis in description of their own order. Bektashis claim they are of the sect, *mezhep*, of *Cafer Sadık*. It will be seen, as we go on that again and again they refer their authority back to him.

[2] Since the word *mürit* is a technical word, the counter-part of the word *mürşit*, it will hereafter be used without translation. The word *aşık*, literally meaning "lover" will hereafter also be used without translation. Technically it means an interested friend, not yet an initiated member of the Bektashi order. The word *arif* "one who knows," will be translated gnostic, meaning "one who has a mystic knowledge of God."

he has accompanied thus far). Without regret he must bring it to the *meydan*, 'place' of those who have attained. He must not come (to) the *mürşit* with his empty hand. This is the *aptes* 'ablution,' of the inquirer." *Beşinci farz budur ki musahip hakını ceme götüre bidirig erenler meydanına götüre mürşit boş elile gelmiye talibin aptesti oldur.* "The sixth *farz* is this: taking the hand of the *mürşit halife*, who is acting in the place of the Patron Saint, he must, in the *meydan* of those who have attained, by the hand of God, make confession and repent. Seventh, making himself attain to the *mürşit* master, *ustat*, he must give up what he knows and be humbled before the people of the way."

In this statement of obligatory duties the *mürşit* is described in three capacities, as teacher and trainer, *murebbi*; as successor and representative of the Patron Saint, *halife*; and as master in the sense of a master in the art of spiritual living, a master whose example and precept are to be followed, *ustat*.

Although formal treatises on mysticism in Islam may not have treated the position of the *mürşit* as a doctrine[1] the reason appears to be that he is so fundamental he is taken for granted. In Bektashiism, as apparently in other Turkish orders at least, he plays a part quite different from anything we know of in our western life. By means of him truth is, theoretically at least, made a living thing. It can be passed on only by the living individual to others, and then only in proportion to the capacity of the disciple to understand.

If the living *mürşit* is of this much importance, it may well be asked how an outsider, and especially a non-Moslem, can understand the order, its beliefs and the meanings of its practices without himself having a *mürşit* to teach him. In answer, the friendly student of Bektashiism can only reply in terms of frank recognition of the difficulties. His hope of approximating some understanding is based on two things. In the first place he has faith that the mystical experience of all men has something in common. One to whom God has a measure of reality in one system of belief can hope to understand the experience of those of another system who have also had an experience of the Divine Reality. Even when rationalized in entirely different terms there is something common to the experience everywhere. And in the second place, diligent study and inquiry through a period of years can perhaps make a multitude of contacts roughly approxi-

[1] In Arabic works he is more often called *Şeyh* (Shaikh). The *Awarif-ul-Ma'arif* of *Shaikh Muhammad-i-Sahrwardi* as translated by H. W. Clarke, 1891, gives an excellent study of the mutual duties of *Şeyh* and *Mürit*, 14-23.

mate what might be received from a single *mürşit*. There will always remain a humble realization of probable error in a complete understanding at many points. If that is coupled with earnest desire to correct every misconception and to find new light, it will perhaps serve for building an ever-increasing appreciation of what doctrines, symbols and formal practices mean to those of another system. There is perhaps no better way to understand another system than to study its poetry, for in verse all of the personality—its feelings and its beliefs, its aspirations as well—finds expression. The student of Bektashiism has the great advantage of having at his hand an almost unlimited amount of Bektashi verse. Both the words and the tunes to which the words are sung are available. The discerning student will find in this treasury of poetry more than anywhere else both the ideas and the attitudes which *mürşit's* in the past have imparted to their disciples.

The attempt we have made to understand the Bektashi conception of the *mürşit's* function makes clear to us another difficulty, namely the fact that Bektashiism means to Bektashis different things. According to their capacity to understand, the truths are given. The apprehension of truth in the individual Bektashi will, therefore, depend both on his own ability to see spiritual truth and on the quality of life and thinking of the one who has been his *mürşit*.[1]

[1] The Bektashi attitude toward the *mürşit* will perhaps be still further clarified if we go back to the teachings of *Ahmet Yesevı*, the great mystic of Turkistan who lived about 1200, and who exercised a strong influence over the mystics of Turkey, over the Nakshibendis and Bektashis especially. He taught as fundamental principles of his Way the following duties: (*Ilk Mutesavvıflar*, 110, 111).

1st. The *mürit* must completely surrender himself to his *şeyh*. (Shaikh). No one can be considered above him.

2nd. The *mürit* must be intelligent so that he will be able to understand the symbols and signs of his *şeyh*.

3rd. He must accept and obey all the words and approve all the acts of his *şeyh*.

4th. He must be quick and clever in the service of his *şeyh*.

5th. He must be faithful in word and steadfast in keeping his vow lest when the mood of his *şeyh* change he be repelled. He must never fall into doubt or uncertainty (as to his *şeyh*.)

6th. He must be loyal and firm in his covenant of allegiance.

7th. The *mürit* must be prepared to give up all his possessions to his *şeyh*.

8th. He must keep the secrets of his *şeyh* and guard himself from divulging them.

9th. He must show respect for the *şeyh's* counsel and advice and never be neglectful (in following the same).

10th. In his pursuit of his *şeyh's* way he must be ready to sacrifice his life and his head. He must be the friend of his *şeyh's* friend, and the enemy of his enemy. In order to satisfy any need of his *şeyh* he must be ready to sell himself as a slave.

2. *The Doctrine of the Four Gateways*

As an ideal fundamental in the religious symbolism[1] of the order, as a part of the ritual,[2] and as a matter of practical belief the most important conception after that of the *mürşit* is the doctrine of the Four Gateways, *dört kapı*—(1) the *şeriat* (sheriat) or "orthodox, Sunni religious law," (2) the *tarikat* or "teachings and practice of the secret religious order," (3) the *marifet* or "mystic knowledge of God," (4) the *hakikat* or "immediate experience of the essence of reality." A mystic teacher of Islam, one who sought as my *mürşit* to teach me, explained to me the meanings of these four terms by taking the idea of "sugar" as an example. One can go to the dictionary to find out what sugar is and how it is used. That is the *şeriat* Gateway to knowledge. One feels the inadequacy of that when one is introduced directly to the practical seeing and handling of sugar. That represents the *tarikat* Gateway to knowledge. To actually taste sugar and to have it enter into oneself is to go one step deeper into an appreciation of its nature, and that is what is meant by *marifet*. If one could go still further and become one with sugar so that he could say, "I am sugar," that and that alone would be to know what sugar is, and that is what is involved in the *hakikat Gateway*.

According to Bektashi teaching these four gateways to religious knowledge and experience were first revealed to Adam by the Angel Gabriel.[3] Muhammad also taught about them saying: "The law, *şeriat*, is my words. The way, *tarikat*, is my actions. Knowledge, *marifet*, is my chief of all things. Truth or reality, *hakikat*, is my spiritual state."[4] In the printed *Vilayetname*[5] which as we have seen contains the same general material as the rhymed *Makalât* dated 1409 (812), and which, therefore, represents as authoritatively as anything we have, the actual teachings of Haji Bektash himself, we find that God is said to have created four groups of human beings: *abitler*, "worshippers," who are the people of the *şeriat* law; *zahitler*, "ascetics" who are the people of the *tarikat*; *arifler*, "gnostics," the people of the *marifet*

[1] See below, Illustration No. 6., p. 232.

[2] See below, page 189.

[3] *Ahitname*, p. 99 in my collection of MS. material which I have called Bektashi Texts, 1266 (1849).

[4] *Fevaitname*, *Faide* I. Also given in Rose 104, Brown 91, in connection with the Kadiris.

[5] There are two editions of the printed *Vilayetname*, one dated 1288 (1871) and the other undated. The account as given in this book is considerably expanded over that in the rhymed 812 *Makalât*.

or "mystic knowledge"; and *muhipler*, "lovers," who are those of the *hakikat*. God is represented as having laid down forty obligations, *makam*,[1] which are the conditions of knowing him as Friend. Ten have to do with the *şeriat*[2]:

1. Faith, *iman* (Kur 2:282 "O ye who believe.")
2. Learning the science of religion, *ilim öğrenmek*. (Kur. 3:73 "Be ye perfect in things pertaining to God.")
3. Formal duties of worship, fasting, alms and pilgrimage (Kur. 2:40, etc.).
4. Lawful business, but without usury. (Kur. 2:276).
5. Marriage (Kur. 4:24 "and if ye desire to exchange one wife for another.")
6. To know the forbidden relationships in the sex life (Kur. 4:27 "Forbidden to you are your mothers.)
7. Practice of example of Muhammad and (his) community *sünnet ve cemaat* (Kur. 48:23 "God's method carried into effect of old; no change can'st thou find in God's mode of dealing.")
8. Compassion, *şefkat* (Kur. 2:25 "Who after its establishment violate the covenant of God," and the saying of the prophet of God, "Compassion along with faith.")
9. To be clean in food and clothes (Kur. 2:54 Eat of the good things which we have given you for sustenance; 74:4 Thy raiment, purify it.)
10. The approved commandment, and prohibition of that which is disapproved.

Ten obligations also are connected with the *tarikat*[3]:

1. Taking the hand of the *Pir*, to make repentance (Kur. 3:98 And hold ye fast by the cord of God; 66:8 O believers! turn to God with the turning of true penitence.)
2. To become a *mürit*, or "disciple studying under a *mürşit*."
3. To cut the hair and to turn the clothes, *saç gidermek ve libas döndürmek* (Kur. 48:27 Having your heads shaved and your hair cut, ye shall not fear; and the tradition from *Muhammet*, "The man along with the clothes."
4. To be burned in the struggle (Kur. 2:22 (fire) whose fuel is men and stones).
5. Service.
6. Fear.
7. Hope (Kur. 39:54 Despair not of God's mercy).

[1] *Makam* usually in mystic literature means "station" or "degree of development." Here the meaning is clearly "duty" or "obligation accompanying each successive stage."
[2] Printed *Vilayetname*, undated edition, 12.
[3] Printed *Vilayetname* pp. 13-15.

8. The mantle, *hırka*; the basket, *zembil*; the prayer rug,[1] *seççade*; warning, right guidance. (Kur. 65:3 God truly will attain his purpose, For everything hath God assigned a purpose).
9. To be at a stage in the spiritual life and to have love, *sahibi makam ve sahibi cemiyet ve sahibi muhabet olmaktir*. (Kur. 2:160, They love them with the love of God. But stronger in the faithful is the love of God.)
10. Love, *aşk*; joy, *sevku safa*; and poverty *fakirlik* (Kur. 12:102 Cause thou me to die a Muslim and join me with the júst; and also in the tradition, *hadisi şerif*: Poverty is my glory, and I will be proud of it until the day of judgment.)

Similarly in the case of the *marifet* gateway there are ten obligations[2]:

1. Discipline, *edep*.
2. Fear, *korku*
3. Fasting or self-control, *perhizkârlik*
4. Patience, *sabır*.
5. To be ashamed, *utanmak*.
6. Generosity, *cömertlik*.
7. Poverty, *miskinlik*.
8. Science, *ilim*.
9. Knowledge, *marifet*.
10. To know oneself, *kendi özünü bilmek*.

The *hakikat* gateway also has ten obligations[3]:

1. To become dust, *turap olmak*.
2. Not to find fault with the seventy-two religious communities, *yetmiş iki milleti ayıplamamak*.
3. Not to prevent anything, against its destiny, *elden gelen her şeyi ala kadrihu men etmemek*.
4. To be safe from the created world, *dünya icinde yaratılmış andan emin olmak*.
5. To bow before the ultimate ruler, (i.e., God) to seek his glory, *mülk ıstna yüz sürüp yüzü suyun bulmak*, for in him is unity.
6. To speak of the mysteries (only) in the fellowship of mystics, *hakikat sohbetinde esrar söylemek*.

[1] The reason for the mention of these articles is obscure. The objects possessing ritualistic value given at the command of God by Gabriel to Muhammad, passed on by him to Ali, finally reaching *Ahmet Yesevı* and miraculously transferred to Haji Bektash were the *Elifi Tac*; the *hırka* or mantle; the candle *cırağ*; the table, *sofra*; the banner, *alem*; and prayer rug, *seççade*. MS. *Vilayetname* (*Menakıp*) l. 16a, 27b.

[2] Printed *Vilayetname* 15, 16.

[3] Ibid. 16.

7. Spiritual progress in God. *Seyr fillah.*
8. Spiritual progress, and continued existence in God. *Seyr ve baka billah.*
9. Supplication, *Munacat.*
10. Contemplation, or vision, *müşahede*, i.e., to attain to God, most high, *Tanri tealaya ulaşmak.*

It has been a favourite occupation of Bektashi Babas to teach the meaning of these Four Gateways by means of taking the individual letters of each word and finding a word of spiritual significance beginning with that letter. Thus *Selman Cemalı Baba*, of Elbasan, Albania, in his *Tarikatname*, a manuscript copy of which he kindly sent me, finds meanings for the four words, *Şeriat, tarikat, marifet* and *hakikat* as follows :

Şeriat : *Şin* means " To be free from evil, *şer.*"
Re means " Having recourse by trust to the pleasure of God, *rizai haka tevessül.*"
Ye means " Calling on God as in *Ya, Allah*, O God."
Ayın means " To act with science or knowledge, *ilim.*"
Te means " Freeing oneself from what is prohibited, *tenzihi nevahi.*"

Tarikat : *Tı* means " Seeking of Reality and truth, *talebi hak ve hakikat.*"
Re means " Ascetic discipline, *riyazat.*"
Ye means " To be true in every respect toward a brother of the way, *yol ve din kardeşi.*"
Kaf means " contentment, *kanaat.*"
Te means " Complete submission, *teslimiyeti tam.*"

Marifet : *Mim* means " Mystic knowledge of God, *marifetullah.*"
Ayın means " To possess the Great First Intelligence *akli kul.*"
Re means " Putting a stop to things which are not lawful, *reva olmayan nesnede iltizami tevekuf.*"
Fe means " Annihilation of self-consciousness in God, *fena fillah.*"
Te means " Repentance, *tövbe.*"

Hakikat : *Ha* means " To distinguish between what is allowed and what is forbidden, *halal ve haram.*"
Kaf means " To return to the original power, *kudreti kadime rücu.*"
Ye means " God does what He wills ; He rules as He desires, *yafal Allah ma yaşa ve yahkum ma yurid.*"
Kaf means " Existing by means of God, *kaim billah.*"
Te "Absolute humility, *turabiyet*, (lit. being dust)."

In the poetry of Bektashiism there are frequent references to the Four Gateways. *Hatayı* says, "It is necessary to pass through the Four Gateways," *geçmek gerek dört kapudan.*[1] *Kul Himmet* writes,[2]

My *Pir* made a city
He made its gateway four.

Pirim bir şehir yaptı
Kapusun dört eyledi.

In this brief quotation there is the corrective suggestion made that we should think of these not as four gateways through any one of which one may enter, but as four gateways, one in front of the other, each having to be entered in turn. *Virani Baba* quotes *Cafer Sadık* in saying that the *Şeriat* is like the Black Sea, the *Tarikat* like the Mediterranean and the *Marifet* like the limitless ocean.[3]

Often the first two are mentioned alone, for it is in the difference between those two that the greatest distinction lies. Thus *Kul Hüseyin* says:

The *şeriat* is in the tongue, the *tarikat* in the soul.[4]
Şeriat dildedir tarikat canda.

and *Mahzunı Muharrem Baba* identifies Muhammad with the first and Ali with the second[5]:

Muhammet, Ali; şeriat, tarikat.

One of the most common quotations from Muhammad current among Bektashis is that frequently found over the doorway entering into the lodge-room or meydan:

"I am the City of knowledge and Ali is its Gateway."
Ene medinetul ilim, ve Ali babuhu.

This is understood to mean that Muhammad taught the external facts about what Moslems should believe and what they should do, but it is only through Ali that one can enter into an understanding of their deeper meaning. Thus the Kuran has four meanings: the external text, *ibare*, is for the common people, *avam*; its subtleties, *letaif*, are for the gnostics, *arifin*; its

[1] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 167, No. 1.
[2] Ibid. 212.
[3] Printed *Risale*, 12.
[4] *B.Ş.*, 235.
[5] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 249.

secrets are for the saints, *evliya*; its inner truth or real essence (*hakikat*) is for the prophets, *peygamberler*. As an illustration, one can take the law of fasting which was revealed by Muhammad. The external or *şeriat* meaning is to abstain from food in certain seasons. The inner or *tarikat* meaning is not stealing, not seeing or hearing evil, not doing harm to others.[1]

It is natural then in the light of this point of view which regards the *şeriat* law as teaching external practices and beliefs intended in their literal meanings only for the uninitiated that all mystics should from the nature of the case become lax in their observation of the law. With Bektashis this is more true than with the other *tarikat's*. The general opinion is that they entirely neglect the religious performances required by the *şeriat*. They do, nevertheless, keep up a certain appearance of respect for the law. Several evenings as I sat in the guest-room of *Salih Niyazi Dede*, the head of the Bektashi Order in Albania, I saw a dervish step on to the veranda outside our window and give the evening call to prayer. When, in surprise, I asked the reason for this I was told: " That is the *şeriat* part." The poet already referred to, "Whose water melons were large," *Aşık Hasan*, is said to have gone every other year on the pilgrimage to Mecca and to have been faithful in his *namaz* or formal worship, because he wanted to show that Bektashis do not always neglect the *Şeriat*.[2]

There is a famous poem by *Yunus Emre* which illustrates the attitude of dervishes in general, and Bektashis no less than others, toward both the importance of a *mürşit* and the significance of the Four Gateways. Like the odes of *Muhyiddini Arabi*[3] the lines have no meaning without a commentary. The translation is therefore given of some of the verses, accompanied by the interpretation offered by *Niyazı Mısrı*, a poet and mystic of the *Halveti* Order, but much loved by the Bektashis.[4]

I climbed up into the branches of a plum tree. It was grapes
  I ate there.

[1] I am indebted to my honoured friend *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan, Albania, for the foregoing interpretation. In the new tekke which *Cemalı Baba* is building (Oct., 1933), there is a certain large square pillar on each of the four sides of which is a doorway, symbolizing the Four Gateways. The symbolism will be true to the doctrine only if one encircles the pillar returning through the four doors to the Reality from which one came.

[2] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 17.

[3] See translation by Nicholson, Tarjuman Al-Ashwaq, Or. Trans. Fund, XX.

[4] In the lithographed edition of *Yunus Emre's* poems dated 1340 (1921), p. 162, the commentary being found on the margin beginning on p. 132.

The owner of the garden objected saying, Why do you eat my walnut ?

Cıktım erik dalına anda yedim üzümü
Bostan ısı kaktı der ne yersin kazumu

Interpretation : The seeker after truth finds the *şeriat* like a plum, attractive without but with a hard inedible stone, so he tries the *tarikat* which is like a grape, good all through and with many uses, but nevertheless with stones in its centre. So he is led by his *mürşit* to *hakikat* which is like the walnut with a hard forbidding exterior but full of rich meat within.

I put unbaked brick into the boiler. I boiled it with the north wind.
To him who asked saying, What is this ? I dipped and gave the grape.

Kerpiç koydum kazana poyraz ile kaynattım
Ne bu deyüp sorana bendim verdim üzümü

Interpretation : The man who seeks the fruit of the vine, which symbolizes the *tarikat*, and who tries to get it by using the north wind to boil clay is no more foolish than the man who tries to follow the mystic life without a *mürşit.*

I gave the thread to the weaver ; he did not wind it into a ball.
Earnestly he commends it ; let someone come and take his cloth.

Iplik verdim çulhaya sarıp yumak etmemiş
Becid becid ısmarlar gelsin alsın bezini.

Interpretation : The defective *mürşit* cannot take a seeker and turn him into a dervish, no matter how much he seeks to boast of his work

I loaded the wing of a sparrow on forty ox-carts.
Forty span could not draw it. It remained where it was.

Bir serçinin kanadın kırk kanlıya yuklettim
Kırk çift dahi çekmedi kaldı şöyle yazılı.

Interpretation : Travelling with the ox-cart is the external knowledge of religion taught by the *şeriat.* Flying with wings is the esoteric knowledge and experience of the *tarikat.* All the power of the *şeriat* is not able to effect progress in the *tarikat.*

A fly raised up an eagle and dashed it to the ground.
No lie, it's the truth. I myself have seen the dust of it.

Bir sinek bir kartalı kaldırdı vurdu yere
Yalan değil gerçektir ben de gördüm tozun .

Interpretation: The humble dervish outwardly poor and unprepossessing has often been known to overcome in argument and influence the worldly person of fame.

3. *Mysticism: Tasavvuf*

(*a*) *In Experience*

In the foregoing description of the Four Gateways it has already been suggested that the great fundamental difference lies between the first two. Once having entered the *tarikat,* the goal toward which one is travelling is marked out and after that it is mainly a matter of attaining to one's, at least partially known, ideal. But between the *şeriat* and the *tarikat* there is a gulf fixed. The difference between them has to do with all of our ideas of the universe in which we live. To the one who accepts the *şeriat* in its teachings as they seem to be, the world is something created out of nothing. A type of dualism necessarily results. There is God above and outside his created universe on the one hand, and on the other hand is that material universe possessing, for the time being at least, a certain reality. To the one, however, who has entered through the gateway of *tarikat* this conception becomes discarded, and in its place is a new idea of the universe as of something made out of that which has already existed. God to the dweller in *tarikat* is thought of not so much as an all powerful creator, but as Truth itself, the only Real Existence that has or can be. All other existence is only apparent. Before the beginning of time God existed as undifferentiated unity, *ahadiyet.* He is thought of especially as being Beauty in the absolute sense. Creation of the universe as we know it took place when this Reality, according to a *hadis,* or reputed saying of the prophet Muhammad, handed down by tradition, decided, as he later told the prophet David in answer to his question, "I was a Hidden treasure, therefore was I fain to be known, and so I created creation in order that I should be known."[1] The Arabic words with which

[1] See Gibbs' *History of Ottoman Poetry,* Vol. I, 15-23 for one of the best descriptions of *ilmi tasavvuf* or "science of mysticism" as it is known among the Persian and Turkish writers. His account is based especially on a canto in the Persian poet, Jami's Introduction to Joseph and Zulikha. See Browne's *A Year Amongst the Persians,* 125-128. It is said that these words were first put into the mouth of God by the Neo-Platonists, Encycl. of Islam, Art *Khalk,*

this tradition begins *Küntukenz*, "I was a treasure," are frequently mentioned in Bektashi poetry.

"The Bektashis are the proof and evidence of *Küntukenz*."
Küntukenzin huccetü burhanıdır bektaşiler.[1]

The most famous reference is in a well-known *nefes* by *Edip Harabi.*

"We became aware of the mystery of *Küntukenz*."
Küntukenz sırrının olduk agâhı.[2]

The secret to which the poet refers is the understanding that anything can be known only by its opposite. We would not know what light is were it not for darkness. Therefore the only way by which Absolute Being, Real Existence or Absolute Beauty can be made known is through a world of Non-Existence. Such a world is one only of appearance. It is the world also of evil, for it is the opposite of Absolute Goodness. Neither the physical world around us nor the evil in it have real existence. The universe is a reflection of Real Existence in the mirror of Non-Existence. Evil has no meaning for God who is ultimate truth or Real Existence. It does have meaning for those who, attracted by the appearance of things around them, are misled into seeing that which is God and that which is not God. To the Bektashi, as to the pantheistic mystic in Islam generally, the physical world is a reflection of Reality in *Adem*, non-existence; and the sense of duality, *ikilik*, is the veil which hides the reality of God's existence from men. Men feel themselves separate from God and look upon the world about them as also being separate from God. Since in this seeming separateness the only touch of reality lies in the fact that man and the universe are emanations of Divinity there is, therefore, in man a spark of Real Existence which is ever seeking to be reunited with the source from which it came. This tendency to find *birlik*, or oneness with the only real being, expresses itself in a struggle with self. As self is conquered the sense of "oneness" is made possible. Sin and sorrow come from the failure to realize that all about us is nothingness, merely the opposite of God's Absolute Existence and Absolute Beauty. When we see in ourselves and

[1] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 41, *Bosnavı*.
[2] *B.Ş.*, 102. See also pages 152, 153, in *Bektaşı Nefesleri* a publication of the Istanbul Conservatory of Music, 1933. This *nefes* is given with the notes of two tunes to which it is sung.

in the universe not something "other than God," *ma-siva*, but the reflection of God Himself we find the satisfying sense of "oneness" which is only an experience of realising Reality as it is. This experience is the mystery of *Küntukenz* to which *Harabi* refers.

This struggle to overcome self and the sense of duality is made possible by the power of "love," *aşk.*[1] In mystic literature the love of *Mecnun* for *Leyla* is often taken as a type of the passionate love of the human being for the divine beloved one. In the opening verses of *Celaleddin* (Jelal ud Din)'s great *Mesnevi* this "love" is pictured as the homesick longing of the reed flute on which the music of the dervishes is being played, for the bed from which the reed was torn.[2] It is "love" in this nostalgic, longing sense that to the Bektashi is the power by which we can overcome the world and attain to a sense of oneness with God. This "love" exists in us because it is a part also of God's own nature. As we have already seen, it was, in the Bektashi poet's mind, God's love, *aşk*, which caused the world to be, and made Adam, Adam.[3] The individual in the world also feels it, and is drawn with a desire that burns the soul by its fire back toward the source in which alone it can rest.

"I have opened the book of love, I read and write (in it)
My view is opened toward Reality."

Aşk kitabını açtım okur yazarım
Hakka doğru açlımıştır nazarım.[4]

"I awoke with love, I sought the cure.
Night and day I have burned that I might find the cure."

Aşk ile uyandım aradım derman
Leylü nehar yandım ta bulam derman.[5]

When one has thus attained, all sense of duality has gone. "Wherever he turns his gaze he sees the Face of God; God shines down on him from every star in the sky; God looks up at him from every flower in the field, God smiles on him in

[1] More properly *işk* but almost invariably pronounced in Turkish *aşk*.

[2] See Whinfield's abridged translation Masnavi i Manavi, Trubner 1887. This translation being abridged, gives in understandable form the main ideas of what is "the greatest pantheistic poem in the world's literature." The only complete translation of the 26,000 couplets is that by Nicholson in the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*

[3] See above, page 95.

[4] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 206, *Kul Budala.*

[5] Ibid., 249, *Mahzuni Muharrem Baba.*

every fair face, God speaks to him in every sweet sound; all around him there is God, nothing but God. If he turn his eyes inward and look into his own heart, there he can read letter by letter the very heart of God."[1] The Bektashi, in common with many others of the mystics in Islam, joins the famous Mansur al Hallaj[2] in saying *Enelhak*, "I am Reality." The poet *Nesimi* writes:

"All the earth and the sky have absolutely become Reality
The cymbals and the harp and the flute say, 'I am Reality.'"

Küllı yerü gök Hak oldu mutlak
Söyler defü çengü ney Enelhak.[3]

Because he first expressed this daring thought Mansur al Hallaj is revered among all Bektashis, and, as we shall see, in the chapter on Practices the initiation rite is in part a symbol of his death, the penalty he paid for following truth.

Closely associated with this mystic longing of the heart seeking to return to its source is the thought involved in the Kuranic passage VII:171 which says: "And when thy Lord brought forth their descendants from the reigns of the sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves, 'Am I not Your Lord?' They said, 'Yea, we witness it.'" In the Bektashi conception, this gathering of souls before they become embodied has become an allegory to explain a spiritual experience. It is with the *Bezmi elest*, "the feast of Am I not" that the consciousness of and love for the Creator began, and the wine drunk there is allegorically remembered in the intoxication of ecstasy which comes with any unusual glimpse of Absolute Beauty. Dervish Rûhullah therefore, speaking of his fellow Bektashis and himself says,

[1] Gibb I, 21. With all the differences that may be involved, spiritually this experience of finding God reflected in the transitory appearance of things is not essentially different from the experience of the Christian mystic:—

Thou life within my life, than self more near,
Thou veiled Presence infinitely clear,
From all my nameless weariness I flee
To find my centre and rest in Thee.

Take part with me against these doubts that rise
And seek to throne Thee far in distant skies,
Take part with me against this self, that dares
Assume the burden of these sins and cares.

ELIZA SCUDDER

[2] For the fullest account of Mansur al Hallaj see Massignon's two volume *Al-Hallaj Martyr Mystique de L'Islam*, Paris, 1922.

[3] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 467.

"From eternity we are intoxicated with the wine of Unity.
We are of those who have tasted the cup of *Elest*."

Vahdet badesile mestiz ezelden
Elest kadehinden tatanlardanız.[1]

Again giving an allegorical interpretation, the twenty-first verse in the seventy-sixth chapter of the Kuran, "And drink of a pure beverage shall their Lord give them," has become a conception fundamental in both the doctrine and practice of the Bektashis. In the meaning suggested by the "wine of Elest" is to be found the secret of *Sekahum*, "he gave them drink," the great poet *Nesimi* wrote:

"From eternity I have drunk the cup of *Sekahum*
Therefore I say with every draught,[2] Enelhak."

Ezelden içmişim cami sekahum
Anınçun söylerim her dem enelhak.[3]

This experience of drinking the "wine of *elest*" is one of the mysteries of the Bektashi order. It is ideally an inner experience of the spiritual life, but it is also an experience guarded as a secret from those who are not prepared to understand its meaning. Thus *Genç Abdal* exclaims,

"Beware, tell not the mystery of *Sekahum*"

Sekahum sırrını söyleme sakın.[4]

With this experience the main outline of mysticism, or *tasavvuf*, is completed. Beginning with the conception of God as the one Reality, thinking of him then as perfect Beauty which "cannot brook concealment," the interpretation goes on to assume the emanation of a world of unreality, of essential Non-Existence which only appears real, sin and suffering have reality only for those who misunderstand their nature. The real purpose of this world of not-being is to serve as a mirror to reflect the divine Reality. Since man has no real existence save in that of him which is God it follows that there is thus a spark in man which came forth from God and longs with passionate

[1] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 69.
[2] The Turkish word *dem* having several meanings probably is used here in a double sense. It means breath; it also means a period of time; and it is used among Bektashis for the actual or allegoric drink of liquor. Here it can mean both "every moment" and "every draught" of wine.
[3] *Divan* of *Nesimi*, 1286, page 102.
[4] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 127.

yearning to return to Him. This "love," therefore, seeks union, and in the joy of that occasionally experienced attainment, the feeling of intoxication is allegorically thought of as quaffing the wine of God's love. As Haji Bektash himself is reported to have said:

"We have drunk of the wine of Union with Thee."[1]

(*b*) *In Theory*

But the complete picture of Mystical doctrine as the Bektashis understand it is not complete with this outline of their religious experience and the ideas that lie behind it. Nearly all of the ideas of the orthodox Muhammadan concerning what happened before creation are occasionally subject to reference in Bektashi verse.[2] The idea that God first called into being a Radiance from his own Light, a Radiance called the Light of Muhammad, *nuru Muhammet*, is well-known, and the Bektashi understands that it is because of this light that God went on to create the world. The Bektashi only varies the usual idea by identifying Ali also with Muhammad as revealed in this light, and in finding the letters of their initials written in it.[3] "Before God created the universe he created out of his own light the light of our lord who is the glorious Friend. Then out of the Light of Muhammad he created the spirits of the prophets and all creatures."[4] It is in fact because of this "Light of *Muhammet*" that the world is created, as a tradition has said: "But for thee, verily I had not created the heavens." The throne of God, *arş*, the preserved tablet, *levhi mahfuz* and the pen, *kalem*, with which God wrote on the tablet everything that was to happen until the last day, are a part of the Bektashi's ideology even though a special interpretation is given in conformity with the other ideas of the order. Thus *Miadı* writes:

"Haji Bektash Veli is the director of the tablet and the pen"
Nazırı Levhü kalemdir Haci Bektaş Veli.[5]

[1] From an Arabic poem attributed to Haji Bektash, found on the flyleaf of a MS. collection of poems.
[2] See Gibb I, 34ff for an excellent account in more detail.
[3] See in *Bektaşı Şairleri*, pp. 221 and 223.
[4] *Tefsiri Suretül Kevser*, pages 89-94 in a MS. book of Bektashi documents in my private collection. This collection of documents will hereafter be called *Erkânname* No. 4.
[5] *Bektaşı Şairleri*, 260.

And again *Mihrabı* says:

> "Thy face is the Preserved Tablet
> Thy word explains its meaning
> The gnostic knows its inner sense
> The ignorant (Sunni) falls into error."
>
> *Levhimahfuzdur yüzün*
> *Ani şerheyler sözün*
> *Arif bilir içyüzün*
> *Cahil duşer zevale.* [1]

The Frequented House, *beyti Mamur,* [2] which was originally in heaven, later removed to earth for the comfort of Adam and finally raised again to where Muhammad on the night of the Journey, *Miraç,* saw it in the seventh heaven is also a part of allegoric material used by the Bektashis.

Using the foregoing terms and ideas which have their origin in the Kuran, [3] the emanation of the visible universe is then pictured by the Bektashi largely in terms of the Ptolemaic system of cosmography. Starting with undifferentiated unity there is projected out a series of emanations in which the proportion of Real Being diminishes as the descent goes farther from the source. In order of creation the scheme is pictured thus:—

> Absence of state, *gaybi huviyet,* in which there is neither emptiness nor fullness nor differentiation, *la hala ve la mela ve la taayun.*
> The stage of unity, *ahadiyet,* in which differentiation consists of Real Existence, *hak.*
> First Intelligence, *aklı evel* (often called *aklı kul* or Universal Intelligence).
> The Nine Intelligences, *ukulu tısa.*
> The Nine Souls, *nufusu tısa.*
> The Nine Spheres, *eflakı tısa.*
> The Four Primal Conditions, *keyfiyatı erbaa.*
> The Four Elements, *anasırı erbaa.*
> The Three Kingdoms, *mevalidi selasa.*
> The Perfect Man, *Insanı kâmil.*

This development is pictured in terms of two Great Arcs, one downward, the Arc of Descent, *kavsı nuzul,* descending

[1] Ibid., 263.
[2] *Muhammadiye* 30; Gibb I, 37; Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, art. Bait ul Mamur.
[3] The *arş* is mentioned in many places 7:52; 9:130, etc. The "pen" *kalem* is mentioned in 68:1 and the "tablet" in 85:22.

from the Divine Source in emanations containing ever diminishing elements of Reality and an ever-increasing proportion of appearance or Non-Being until the elements of the world of physical matter at the bottom of the arc come into apparent being; then follows the other arc upward, the Arc of Ascent, *kavsı uruç*, as matter takes on more and more aspects of Real Being until in the Perfect Man there is a complete return into the God-head. Graphically represented in detail the succession is as follows[1]:

The Perfect Man			The First Intelligence, *aklı evel.*
Insanı Kâmil			
Stage of Man			The Nine Intelligences, *ukulu tısa.*
Mertebei Insan			The Nine Souls, *nufusu tısa.*
Ape, Monkey			The Great Sphere, *feleki âzam.*
Nesnas maymum			Sphere of the Constellations, *buruç.*
Kinds of Animals			
Envai Hayvanat	ARC		Sphere of Saturn, *zuhal.*
Palm of the Date	OF		Sphere of Jupiter, *muşteri.*
Nahılı hurma	ASCENT		
Fruit Trees			Sphere of Mars, *merih.*
Aşcari Musmire		ARC	Sphere of the Sun, *şems.*
Plants with seed		OF	Sphere of Venus, *zühre.*
Nebatat ca tohum		DESCENT	Sphere of Mercury, *utarit.*
Plants without seed			Sphere of the Moon, *kamer.*
Nebatat bi tohum			
Substance of Coral			Condition of Heat, *keyfiyeti hararet.*
Cevheri mercan			
Minerals, stones			Condition of Cold, *burudet.*
Maaden ahcar			Condition of Moisture, *rutubet.*
Minerals completed			Condition of Dryness, *yubuset.*
Maaden mukantara			Fire, *kürei nar.*
			Air, *kürei hava.*
Volatile toughness			Water, *kürei ma.*
Tayri lezeç			*Earth, kürei hak.*

It must not be supposed that the cycle of existence is thought of in these exact terms by all Bektashis. There are different terms and ways of picturing the process. Sometimes, for example, in explaining how all this came about, the seven planets are thought of as the "seven fathers," *abaiseba*, and the four

[1] Data taken from a chart following the *Devriyei Arşiye* by *Mısrıı El Niyazı*, p. 449 in a MS, collection of Texts copied by *Seyit Ali Riza Baba* of Adrianople 1340 (1885). This collection will hereafter be referred to as "Bektashi and Tasavvuf Texts." The Arc of Descent is also called the *Tariki Mebde*, "Outward Track" and the Arc of Ascent, sometimes is called the "Homeward Track," *Tariki Maat.*

elements, fire, air, water and earth, as the "four mothers," *ummuhatı erbaa*, the two together bringing forth the "three children," *mevalidi selasa*, the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms. Sometimes the second stage of *Abadiyet* is called *Vahidiyet* and consists of the "first differentiation," and the "truth of Muhammad," *taayuni evel ve hakikatı muhammediye.*[1] A quite different terminology for the Arcs of Descent and Ascent uses words said first to have been employed by Mansur al Hallaj.[2] Thus it is said that the World of Might, *alemi ceberût*, is the *Şeriat* stage of development and is represented by the Angel Gabriel; the World of Angels, *alemi Melekût*, is the *Tarikat* stage and is in the domain of Michael; the World of Godhead, *alemi lahût*, is the stage of *marifet*, where Israfil holds away; and the World of Man, *alemi nasût*, is the stage of hakikat depending on the Archangel Azrail.[3] The idea of the return of the Perfect Man into the Godhead is justified by the traditional saying of the Prophet. "Everything shall return to its origin."

(c) *The Four Elements and the Perfect Man*

In the Bektashi picture of this cycle the stages of development which are most frequently mentioned are the stages of the "four elements" and the "perfect man." In the *Makalât* of Haji Bektash the four kinds of men, each identified with one of the Four Gateways, are also identified with the four elements. The "worshippers," *abitler* who represent the *şeriat* are said to be in their origin air; the "ascetics," *zahitler*, representing the *tarikat*, are originally from fire; the "gnostics," *arifler*, representing the *marifet*, are of water; and the "lovers," *muhipler*, the people of *hakikat*, are of earth.[4] "The Perfect Man,"[5] as Prof. Nicholson tells us, is a phrase first used by *Ibnul Arabi*. This mystic writer, together with *Celaleddin Rumi*, has been the chief source for theories as to mystical experience for practically all of the Turkish dervish orders. "In his *Fususul Hikâm, Ibnul Arabi* says that when God willed that His attributes should be displayed he created a microcosmic being, The Perfect Man, through whom God's consciousness, *sırr*, is manifested to

[1] It is so named in *Abdul Baki's Melâmilik ve Melâmiler*, 96.

[2] Studies in Tasawwuf, Khaja Kahn, p. 188. See the arcs based on those terms in Browne's *Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 138. The terms appear in many and varied combinations.

[3] *Fevaitname, Faide* 54.

[4] Printed *Vilayetname*, undated edition, 3–8.

[5] See Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* for a full account of The Perfect Man as a doctrine in Islamic Mysticism.

Himself."[1] From this conception comes the idea common among Turkish mystics that just as a seed is thought to contain within itself a tiny tree, so a man, at least in his ideal state, contains within himself the macrocosm.

The *Melâmı* poet, *Gaybi Baba* expresses the thought as Bektashis understand it in his verses:

This universe is a tree;
Man became its fruit.
That which was intended is the fruit;
Do not think it is the tree.[2]

Bir agaçdır bu alem
Meyvası olmuş adam
Meyvadır maksut olan
Sanmaki agaç ola.

"The Perfect Man unites the One and the Many, so that the Universe depends on him for its continued existence."[3] A poem attributed to *Kaygusuz Sultan* conveys the same thought on behalf of the Bektashis[4]:

Do not look awry at the Saint; the universe is in his hand.
He is the one who governs the world; the authority of sovereign is in his hand.

Evliyaya eğri bakma kevnu mekân elindedür
Mülke hüküm süren oldur; hükmü sultan elindedür.

The Divine Reality sent him to give right guidance to his servants here;
He guides aright whom he will; the curse and the blessing are in his hand.

Hak anı gönderdi bunda kullarını irşat için
Istediği irşat eder kahrile ihsan elindedür.

You think he is a man like yourself;
The Saint has a mystery (hidden experience or consciousness); the mystery of God is in his hand.

Sen anı sanırsın şöyle senceleyin bir adamdür
Evliyanin sırrı vardır sırrı suphan elindedür.

Kaygusuz Sultan says, I have read, I have known, I have understood,
Now the rule of this world is in the hand of the Perfect Man.

[1] Nicholson's Studies, 76, No. 2.
[2] From a MS. in my collection.
[3] Nicholson's Studies, 78.
[4] Taken from an old Bektashi *cönk* or collection of nefes'es in the writer's private collection. The poem is also found in the 1340 *Bektaşı Nefesleri*, 69.

Kaygusuz Sultan eder okudum bildim anladım
Şimdi bu mülkün hükmü kâmil insan elindedur.

Closely associated with this thought of the Saint acting as a mediator between God in his ultimate nature and man and his affairs in this world is the dervish concept of a spiritual hierarchy which rules over the concerns of men. In all there are said to be at least three hundred Believers who have the power of changing from the clothes of this material world into the Garments of spiritual angelic beings. One of these can be talking with a person and suddenly change his own garments, take by the hand his friend and lead him on a journey through the spheres into the presence of God. One of these three hundred is known as the *kutup*, the "Pole." When he is taken out of the world one is chosen to take his place from the three next in authority, and the three are filled up from the seven, whose ranks in turn are completed from the total of three hundred, all of whom are called *Abdal* from the word *bedel* meaning, "change," having reference to their power of changing their state or condition. The ranks of the three hundred are then recruited from the general body of Believers, *müminler*.[1] The spiritual rule over the affairs of men is then in the hands of these saints whose identity ordinarily is not known either to themselves or others. We have seen already that the Three, the Seven and the Forty figure as important articles in the Bektashi creed, even the Janissary soldiers being required to acknowledge their faith in these powers. The references are evidently to these spiritual powers represented in this hierarchy of saints, although the numbers three and forty, as we shall see, have other meanings for the Bektashi as well.[2]

[1] *Vilayetname*, (*Menakıp*) 16 in writer's MS. copy. See Gross p. 32, No. 1. The total number of *abdal's* is here once stated to be 366 and in another place 300. Sometimes special names are given to the various ranks. The Forty are *Abdal*; the Seven, *Budela*; the Four, *Evtat*; the Three, *Nukabâ*; and the First, *Kutup* or *Gavs*. *B.Ş.* 443. Cf. *Abdal* in Glossary.

[2] Related to this conception of a hierarchy of living saints is the idea of the ever present help of the prophet *Hızır* who acts as a guardian spirit coming to dervishes in their time of need. Dr. Macdonald's description of the Spiritual hierarchy, of *Al-Khadir* and of the importance of dead saints in his *Aspects of Islam* 204-209, is exactly true of the beliefs and practice of Bektashis in common with other Turkish dervishes. Thus in the *Vilayetname* (*Menakıp*) of Haji Bektash a ship in danger on the Black Sea appeals for help and *Hızır* arrives with his timely help (MS. text 60b). When *Sarı Saltık* is fighting the seven headed dragon at Kilgra in the Dobruja, *Hızır* arrives in time to remind him of his sword, seizing which *Sarı Saltık* cuts off all the heads. For importance of tombs of dead saints see Chapter on Rites and Practices. See description of *Secde Taşı*, Illus. No. 10.

(*d*) *The Cycle of Existence*

Turning back from this digression on the Bektashi conception of the Perfect Man we must return again to the larger question of the Cycle of Existence. We have attempted to form a picture of the Cycle as it is conceived in its downward course away from essential Reality and its upward progress back to absorption in that Reality. It remains to give with this picture as a background the particular form and emphasis which the cycle receives in Bektashi literary expression. This understanding can best be given by translations from two quite characteristic *nefes'es*, both of them, because they concern this cycle, being classed as *devriye* or cyclical poems. One of them is a famous *nefes* of *Edip Harabı*. It is found both in *Bektaşı Şairleri* and with the musical notes of two tunes to which it is sung, in the publication of the Istanbul Conservatory of Music, *Bektaşı Nefesleri.*[1]

Before the "B" and "E"[2] ever appeared
We are the beginning of the universe
Before any became joined to the face (of God)
We are "the distance of two bows or closer."[3]

"Kafünün" hitabı izhar olmadan
Biz bu kâinatin iptidasiyiz
Kimseler vasili didar olmadan
Ol "Kabe Kavseynin Ev Ednasiyiz."

When there was no Adam and Eve in the world.
We were really existent with the Divine Reality in the impenetrable mystery.
For a night we were the guest of Mary;
We are the real father of Jesus the exalted.

Yokiken Âdemle Havva âlemde
Hak ile Hak idik sırrı muphemde

[1] *B.Ş.* 102. *Bektaşı Nefesleri*, Istanbul, 1923 I, No. 153. The poem is also found in a printed book called *Bektaşı Nefesleri*, Istanbul, 1340, p. 35.

[2] A reference to the word by which both in Genesis, "Let there be," and in the Kuran, creation was brought about. Kuran 2:111 "and when He decreeth a thing, He only saith to it 'Be' and it is."

[3] A quotation from Kuran 53:9 where to explain the nearness of Muhammad to the Divine Reality it says "He was at the distance of two bows, or even closer." These two "bows" are understood by the Bektashis to mean the arches of the two eyebrows. The meaning of the last two lines then appears to be that "before creation had advanced far enough for Muhammad or anyone to have attained union in God we were in the very beginning as much one with Him as the distance between the arches of the eyebrows is a part of the face." The two "bows" *kavseyn* are also identified with the two "arcs" of descent and ascent, and the secret of this reference is said to be in the understanding of the cycle of emanation away from but also back into the Divine Reality. The *Devriyei Arşiye* ends with this assertion.

Bir gececik mihman kaldık Meryemde
Hazreti Isanın öz babasıyız

The child Messiah called us "Father"
Moses called to us saying, "O Lord, show thyself to me."
We are the one who said to him "Thou shalt not see me."
We are the revelation made on Mt. Sinai.[1]

Bize peder dedi tıflı Mesiha
"Rabbi Erini" deye çağırdı Musa
"Lenterâni" deyen biz idik ana
Biz Tûru Sinanin tecellâsiyiz.

We became aware of the mystery of "I was a treasure."[2]
We saw the very face of God Himself
O hoja,[3] the divine secret is in us.
We are the humble followers of Haji Bektash.

"Küntükenz" sırrının olduk agâhi
Aynelyakın gördük Cemalûllahı
Ey hoca bizdedir sırrı Ilâhi
Biz Haci Bektaşın fukarasiyiz.

Our glory (appeared to) the ascetic as "Verily we have won."[4]
Do not think *Harabı* a humble vagabond
We are the Perfect who split a hair into forty
We are the *budala*[5] of the saint *Balım Sultan.*

Zahida şanimiz "Inna fetahnâ"
Harabı kemteri serseri sanma
Bir kılı kırk yarar kâmiliz amma
Pir Balım Sultanın budalasıyız.

There is perhaps no *nefes* more universally known among Bektashis than this poem. Its significance, however, for the Bektashi lies not merely in its familiar ideas but in its emotional

[1] This revelation and the two quotations of this stanza are from Kuran 7:139 "And when Moses came out at our set time and his Lord spake with him, he said, 'O Lord, show thyself to me that I may look upon thee.' He said, 'Thou shalt not see me, but look towards the mount, and if it abide firm in its place, then shalt thou see me.' And when God manifested Himself to the mountain He turned it to dust." This stanza and the next are in reverse order in *B.Ş.*, and in the Conservatory of Music publication. In all the MS. versions I have seen they are in the order given above. In other verses also we are following the rendering as given in the MS. versions.

[2] See above page 110 for explanation of this tradition.

[3] A *hoja* is a religious teacher of the orthodox or Sunni school, an interpreter of the *Şeriat.*

[4] A quotation from Kuran 48:1 "Verily, we have won for thee an undoubted Victory."

[5] Here the word *budala* may have either or both of two meanings, "mad or carried away out of ourselves," and also "one of the abdals," saints with authority in the spiritual hierarchy.

value as it is sung in the hour of fellowship following the *aynicem* or ritualistic meeting.

The other *devriye* is by *Şirı*, a poet whose exact identity is not known. The *nefes* translated below more perfectly than that of *Harabı* gives the full cycle of existence and is one of the best examples of what has become for the Bektashis a conventional form for expressing both their philosophy of creation and their mystical experience of union with the Divine Reality.[1]

Before the world came into being in the hidden secret of Non-existence
I was alone with Reality in his oneness.
He created the world because then
I formed the picture of Him, I was the designer.[2]

Cihan varolmadan ketmi ademde
Hak ile birlikte yekdaş idim ben
Yarattı bu mülkü çünkü o demde
Yaptım tasvirini nakkaş idim ben

I became folded in garments made of the elements
I made my appearance out of fire, air, earth and water
I came into the world with the best of men (Adam)
I was of the same age even as Adam.[3]

Anasırdan bir libasa büründüm
Nârü badü hâkü âptan göründüm
Hayrülbeşer ile dünyaya geldim
Âdem ile bile bir yaş idim ben

I came as Seth from the loins of Adam[4]
As the prophet Noah I entered the flood
Once I became Abraham in this world
I built the House of God, I carried stone.

[1] My friend *Sulo Bey Çelo* of Tirana says this *nefes* should be called a *seyriye* rather than a *devriye* because it is, he says, the world that *devr eder's*, "cycles" while man *seyr eder's*, "travels in spiritual experience." The *nefes* can be found in *B.Ş.* 357 and in the 1340 *Bektaşı Nefesleri*, 10. It is also used in *Baha Sait Bey's* Article on *Bektaşiler* in *Türk Yurdu, cilt*, 5 No. 28, p. 340.

[2] This reference to man as the *nakkaş* or designer of God I take to be a reference to the idea described under the Perfect Man that man is a microcosm in which the macrocosm is revealed. In connection with this whole stanza note the similarity in thought with personification of Divine Wisdom as given in Proverbs 8:27 and 29, 30. "When he established the heaven I was there. When he marked out the foundations of the earth, then was I by him as a master workman; and I was daily his delight." Cf. Macdonald's, *Philosophy of the Hebrews*.

[3] One interpretation of this given me by a Bektashi is that it simply means "I came as a baby into the world and grew up as did Adam."

[4] The interpretation of this verse given me by the one referred to in the note above is this, "I came from a father and mother as Seth came." "Entering the flood" means taking on myself as a child born into the world the "absolute ignorance" in which the world is flooded. The last two lines mean: "I have done good, taking loads on my shoulders as Abraham did." The individual, in other words, is being described as recapitulating the history of the race.

Âdemin sulbünden Şit olup geldim
Nuhu nebi olup Tufana girdim
Bir zaman bu mülke Ibrahim oldum
Yaptım Beytullahı taş taşıdım ben.

I appeared as Ishmael once, O soul.
I became once Isaak, Jacob, Yusuf
I came as Job, I cried out for mercy.
Worms ate my body, I was in bitter mourning.

Ismail göründüm bir zaman ey can
Ishak Yakup Yusuf oldum bir zaman
Eyyup geldim çok çagırdım el 'aman
Kurt yedi vücudüm kanyaş idim

They cut me in two along with Zacharias.[1]
With John they scattered my blood on the ground.
I came as David, There were many who followed me.
Often I carried the seal of Solomon.

Zekeriya ile beni biçtiler
Yahya ile kanım yere saçtılar
Davut geldim çok peşime düştüler
Mührü Süleymanı çok taşıdım ben.

The blessed rod I gave to Moses
I became the Holy Spirit and came to Mary
I was guide to all the Saints
To Gabriel the Faithful I was the right hand companion.

Mubarek aşayı Musaya verdim
Ruhulkudüs olup Meryeme erdim
Cümle evliyaya ben rehber oldum
Cibrili Emine sağdaş idim ben

From the loins of my father[2] came Ahmed the chosen
The two-edged sword made its arrival from among those who guide on the way[3]
Before the world was, friend to the People of the House
I was, while a slave, a fellow sharer of the mystery with God.

Sulbü pederimden Ahmedi Muhtar
Rehnümalarindan erdi Zülfikâr

[1] A reference to the Islamic tradition that Zacharias in his attempt to save John was persecuted. Concealing himself in a tree he was cut asunder as men sawed the tree.

[2] The version in *B.Ş.* reads "his" father. The whole point is lost unless it is "my" father as in the *B. Nefesleri* version.

[3] Perhaps a reference to the timely arrival of Ali with his *Zülfikâr*, or two-edged sword, at the Battle of Uhud when Muhammad, being wounded, called for Ali's help. See below, page 138.

Cihan varolmadan Ehlibeyte yar
Kul iken zat ile sırdaş idim ben[1]

I meditated much within myself
Without beholding a miracle I came to believe.
With the Prince of Heroes I rode on *Düldül*
I bound on the *Zülfikâr,* I carried the sword.

Tefekkür eyledim ben kendi kendim
Mucize görmeden imana geldim
Şahimerdan ile Düldüle bindim
Zülfikâr bagladım tiğ taşıdım ben.

Sherbet was drunk from the wine of *Sekahüm*
The "ceremony of the Assembly" was held. We had fellowship together
The secret of Truth was opened up
I have borne many mysteries which I have received.

Sekahüm hamrinden içildi serbet
Kuruldu aynicem ettik mehabbet
Meydana açıldı sırrı hakikat
Aldığım esrarı çok taşıdım ben

Right guidance came to us from God
We all made homage to the Apostle of God
He gave us news of the Journey in God
I was a sharer of the secret with the Prince of Heroes.

Hidayet irişti bize Allahtan
Biat ettik cümle Resulûllahtan
Haber verdi bize seyrifillahtan
Şahimerdan ile sırdaş idim ben.

I came in the course of making the cycle of this world
I entered the rites in the place of the Forty
I was girded by the Prince of Saintship
I was the comrade of *Selmanı Pâk.*

Bu cihan mülkünü devredip geldim
Kırklar meydanında erkâna girdim
Şahivilayetten kemerbest oldum
Selmanı Pâk ile yoldaş idim ben.

Thankful I gained what I sought
I became the rose; I cried out to the nightingale
We gathered together in one place with the People of the House[2]
I became the carpet-layer in the place of the Forty.

[1] *Bektaşi Nefesleri* and *Baba Sait's* article both give for this line *Kul iken destinde bir taş idim ben.*

[2] *Ehli Beyt,* the family of the House of Muhammad, especially Ali and his children.

Şükür matlabımı getirdim ele
Gül oldum feryadi verdim bülbüle
Cem olduk bir yere Ehlibeyt ile
Kırklar meydanında ferraş idim ben.

We made our confession, we were all placed in the Way
We did not reveal the secret to any creature
Together with *Imam Hüseyin* in Kerbela
I cleaned the skirt of the garment, I was soiled.

Ikrar verdik cümle düzülduk yola
Sırrı faşetmedik asla bir kula
Kerbelâda Imam Hüseynle bile
Pâkettim dâmeni gül taşıdım ben.[1]

To this world of " being annihilated in God " I have often come and gone
I have rained with the rain and I have grown as grass
I have guided aright the country of Rum
I was Bektash who came from Horasan.[2]

Şu fena mülküne çok geldim gittim
Yağmur olup yağdım otolup bittim
Urûm diyarını ben irşat ettim
Horasandan gelen Bektaş idim ben.

Sometimes I was Prophet, sometimes Saint
Sometimes sane, sometimes fool I appeared
Sometimes as Ahmet, sometimes as Ali I appeared
No one knows my mystery, I was cunning.

Gâhi nebi gâhi veli göründüm
Gâhi uslu gâhi deli göründüm
Gâhi Ahmet gâhi Ali göründüm
Kimse bilmez sırrım kallaş idim ben.

Now praise is to God, *Şirı*, they said.
I came, I went. They never knew my real self
My mystery none ever comprehended
To all creatures I was brother.

Şimdi hamdülillah Şirı dediler
Geldim gittim zatım hiç bilmediler
Sırrımı kimseler fehmetmediler
Hep mahlûk kuluna Kardaş idim ben.

[1] In other versions it is *Güldaş idim ben.* Prof. *Hüseyin Pektaş* suggests that the reading should be *gildaş idim ben*, as translated above, the meaning of the line being " I washed off my sin."

[2] By some *Şirı* has, on account of this line, been identified with Haji Bektash, showing that even among dervishes there are minds that insist on seeing literal meanings.

(e) Sin and Death

As corollaries of the mystical doctrine of idealistic pantheism which we have been discussing, are the ideas of the Bektashis having to do with Sin, its causes and its significance; and with Death, its meaning and its after results.

SIN

In Bektashi literature, so far as the writer's knowledge goes, the most extensive and by far the most interesting treatment of sin is in a fascinating little book of theology called *Hüsniye*. It is a book read by both the Bektashis and Kizilbash. According to the Introduction in a manuscript copy in the writer's possession it is a book which was translated from Arabic into Persian in the year 958 (1551), and in 1274 (1857) was translated into Turkish by one who describes himself as "This Lowly One, a servant of *Mehmet Rana*," *bu hakir yani Mehmet Rana bendelerinden*. It was later printed but without date or name of publisher. It begins by saying that the following account is in accordance with a tradition coming from the Gnostic in God, *Şeyh Abul Feth Mekkı*. The scene is laid in Bagdad in the time of the Abbaside Caliph *Harun Reşit*.[1] A rich merchant was a "lover of the Family" and of the "People of the House" and was constantly in the service of *Cafer Sadık*. In his own household was a slave girl named *Hüsniye* whom he had purchased at the age of five years. After giving her a preliminary education he had sent her to *Cafer Sadık* by whom she was educated in the religious sciences until by the time she was twenty years old she was perfect in her knowledge of these branches. Being unparalleled also in personal beauty she was given the name *Hüsniye*, "The Beautiful." After the death of *Cafer Sadık*, her master fell on hard times and lost all his fortune. *Hüsniye* recommended as a solution of his difficulties that he offer her for sale at the price of three thousand gold liras. In answer to any question about her being worth this much the explanation was to be given that she knew more than all the *Ulema*, "the learned men of the Seriat law." Offered for sale in the market place she was found by *Yahya Barmeki*, the Grand Vizir, who brought her before *Harun Reşit*. Angered by the high price put on the girl the Caliph proposed to make a public

[1] The setting of this story is strikingly similar to that in the story of *Abu-al-Husn* and his slave girl Tawaddud as in Burton's Book of a *Thousand Nights and a Night*, 436th to 462nd nights.

testing of the girl's boasted knowledge. If she failed in the contest the owner's life was to be forfeited and the girl was to be taken without cost as the property of the Caliph. On the other hand, if she succeeded, the Caliph promised to pay the three thousand gold liras and leave her as the property of the present owner. The *Ulema* were summoned and a certain *Ibrahim Halit* was appointed to speak for them in the contest of knowledge. In answer to a question *Hüsniye* frankly professed to be of the "Sect of the People of the House," *Ehli Beyt mezhebi*. She tactfully handled the question as to who was the real Caliph in such a way as to both defend the rights of Ali and his descendants and at the same time not offend the Caliph, *Harun Reşit*. Then after an exchange of questions between the two contestants, *Harun Reşit*, through his Vizir, frankly confessed that he himself was troubled by the question of the origin of evil. Are we to attribute both good and evil, the useful and the harmful to God? Do such things as oppression and rebellion and disbelief come from God? *Ibrahim Halit* offered the first answer and gave it in accord with the orthodox teaching of the *Şeriat* law, that both good and evil happened by the decree and fate of God, but not with his approval. To this *Hüsniye* made spirited reply that in that case God was compelled to decree what he did not want. In a long argument extending over many pages *Hüsniye* pointed out how cruel and unjust God is if he condemns those who have done wrong when God Himself has created the evil. If God made a man black and then says, "You should have been white" and punishes him for the offence God is obviously a tyrant. If a man binds the hands of a boy, and then throws him in the water only to draw him out and punish him for having wet his clothes he is guilty of cruelty and oppression. And such would God be if he were what the *Ulema* claimed. Skilfully *Hüsniye* handled the Kuranic passages offered in support of *Ibrahim's* claim, and ably she reinterpreted them offering quotations in support of her own theory that sin comes not from God but from the individuals who commit it. The prophets were sent to invite people to turn from the evil and to follow the good. If they thus urge men to not do what God has decreed they shall do, the prophets are opposing the will of God. The prophets even, she showed, repented of their own sin which they shouldn't have done if God created the evil they committed. She herself quoted Kuran 14:4 "God misleadeth whom he will, and whom he will he guideth,"

and so interpreted the word "to guide" as to make it necessarily apply universally in the sense of giving the right information to both believers and unbelievers. Kuran 4:163, she asserted, by its statement that apostles have been sent to announce and to warn "that men might have no plea against God," proved the claim that God must be ethically judged, and that if He is so judged sin must be attributed to the sole responsibility of the sinner.[1]

We have already noted the same tendency in all Bektashi literature to ridicule the orthodox teaching of the *Ulema* that God weighs men's deeds in the balance and meets out punishment to the sinner, or that he causes men after death to cross over a narrow bridge from which the morally incompetent fall into hell. This idea, the Bektashi feels, is morally inconsistent with any doctrine that God made the world with its good and its evil. Instead, the Bektashi, by his theory of creation through a cycle of emanations from the Godhead, feels that sin along with all the world of apparent phenomena about us is essentially unreal. To the superficial person who attributes reality to this physical world apparent reality is thereby for that person put into temptation and sin, but to the one with hidden knowledge it is merely a case of not understanding the real facts. To such a person there is a moral struggle within in order to overcome self. The real sin is not so much what the world calls sin, as the individual's own sense of duality, seeing the world and seeing himself as something other than God. Negatively there is with the Bektashi no conception of the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," nor is there felt any moral obligation to struggle against the sin of the world, for the social order as well as the physical world is unreal. Spiritual attainment rather comes by way of seeing all things, the saloon and the church, the idol and the altar as merely manifestations, unreal in themselves, having meaning only as they point to unity lying behind everything, unity into which the individual can hope to lose himself until he becomes one with the Divine Reality. It is with this attitude of mind that *Agâhı Dede* in one of his *nefes'es* says[2]:

O orthodox teacher, to me the mosque and the saloon are one.
The voice of the pious and the cry of the drunken are one.

[1] Of course at the end of the long argument *Harun Reşit* and all the listeners found themselves carried away with *Hüsniye's* eloquence as well as her logic, and she was allowed to stay with her master who was now enriched by the promised gift of the Caliph.

[2] *B.Ş.* 8.

If the secrets of right guidance have not reached thee from Divine Reality,
This remembrance of God in worship is identical with the goblet of wine.
Come, give up hypocrisy. Behold the throne and the world.
In this transient existence they are the same as any corner of ruins.
First of all then, give not (thy) heart to the world.
To the one who really knows, the wise and the simple are one.
Like *Agâhı* become light and see, O blind man
(For him) who burns with this love, the candle and the moth are one.

Ey sofı, bana mescidü meyhane de birdir
Savti zühüdü narei mestane de birdir
Haktan sana ermez ise esrarı hidayet
Bu zikrü ibadet ile peymane de birdir
Gel geç bu riyadan, hele gör tahtı cihanla
Bu fanıde bir gûşei virane de birdir
Illâ başı Dünyaya gönül verme diriga
Ârif olana âkilü divane de birdir
Agâhı gibi nurolagör ey gözü ama
Bu aşka yanan şem'ile pervane de birdir.

DEATH

In general, for Turkish mystics who believe in such a cycle of emanation out of and back into the Divine Reality, death can mean one of two things. If an individual in his spiritual journey, while a man, completes the cycle as a "Perfect man," *insanı kâmil*, he becomes Real with the Real One, *hak ile hak*. If he has not completed the cycle, he passes into an unseen spiritual state at the stage of development to which he has attained. He does not return again to the cycle on the physical plane. Only the one who has attained to final Reality comes back into the physical world again, of course only in the form of the Perfect Man.[1]

[1] See *Abdul Baki Bey's Melâmılik ve Melâmıler*, 95-97, 274, and *Kaygusuz* 130. The *Devriyei Arşiye* to which *Baki Bey* refers gives an explanation which is necessary for the proper understanding of how a person on death, if he has not attained to the degree of a Perfect Man, can continue his existence in a spiritual state. The world as we know it, that is, all of the cycle included in the Arc of Ascent, is brought into being by the combination of two worlds, the World of Spirits, *Âlemi Ervah* or as it is sometimes called the *Âlemi Melekût*, Angel World, and the World of Bodies, *Âlemi Ecsam*, or *Âlemi Mülk*. In the World of Spirits there were brought into existence the following succession, 1*st*, Universal Intelligence, *akli kül*; 2*nd*, Universal Soul, *nefsi kül*; 3rd, Spirits of the Angels, *ervahı melaike*; 4*th*, Spirits of the Prophets, *ervahı enbiya*; 5*th*, Spirits of the Prophets, *ervahı evliya*; 6*th*, Spirits of the Gnostics, *ervahı arifin*; 7*th*, Spirits of the Worshippers, *ervahı abidin*, 8*th*, Spirits of the Believers, *ervahı mümінin*; 9*th*, Spirits of the Unbelievers; *ervahı kâfirin*; 10*th*,

The Bektashi views the process somewhat differently. Although the more learned among them deny any belief in metempsychosis, *tenasuh*, the undoubted fact is that many of them do, and that appears to be the general teaching of the Order with regard to what happens after death. One of the most learned of the Bektashis I have met told me that none of the intellectual members of the order accept the doctrine. *Salih Niyazi Dede*, the head of the Bektashi Order in Albania, on the other hand, said that the general belief of Bektashis is that on death a person's soul passes into an animal of the type which the person's life resembles. If a man has lived on the bestial level his soul passes into the body of a beast. It may be a pig or a dog or a tiger or any other animal or type of person depending on the interests and habits of the person during life. Brailsford in his "Macedonia" makes the assertion that the soul of the murderer of *Hüseyin* entered into a hare and that that is the reason Bektashis will ordinarily not hunt or eat or even touch a hare. One traveller through the Balkans reports seeing Bektashis wear bells on their shoes in order to frighten away insects in their path lest they step on a former Bektashi who has taken that form. Most Bektashis would probably laugh at this idea.

In a treatise entitled Verification of Azrail and the Manner of Taking Spirits [1] there is an account resembling in large measure the conventional conception [2] among Moslems, of the part which the angel Azrail plays in taking from the body the soul of one who is to die. In the treatise Azrail is represented as having been created out of the Light of Muhammad, *Nuru Muhammet*. He was sent to the earth to bring a handful of earth out of which Adam was to be created. Then Spirit was added to this earth and out of the combination the body of Adam was formed. To Azrail was given the power and duty to take from created beings their souls at the time of death. Some souls easily leave their bodies. Some have become so attached to the body that they have to be torn away after a

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Spirits of the jini, *ervahı cinni*; 11th, Spirits of the Satans, *ervahı şeyatin*; 12*th*, Spirits of the Animals, *ervahı hayvanât*; 13*th*, Spirits of the Plants, *ervahı nebatât*; 14*th*, Spirits of the Natural elements, *ervahı tabayi*. When the spirit is taken, therefore, from that with which when it is in combination an object in the physical world has its existence, the spirit can pass into its proper place in the World of Spirits. Even minerals, plants and animals on their lowest planes are composed of both worlds.

[1] Page 175 in Bektashi and Tasavvuf Texts *Fi Tahkiki Azrail ve Keyfiyeti Kabzı Ervah*.

[2] See Encyclopædia of Islam, article Izrail.

struggle, but in every case Azrail possesses the power to remove the soul. On whatever type of life the soul's attention is fixed at the moment of being removed there takes place an incarnation, *hulul*, into one of that type. Thus those who have lived in a character possessing divine qualities ascend to be with God. Those who have lived evil lives, whose interests are in and whose attention is upon bestial things are unable to ascend, but instead remain in the physical world imprisoned by their evil character. Azrail himself, moreover, when he comes to take a soul appears in the form suitable to the individual's life, as an angel to prophets and saints, as a devil or dragon to sinners. He also comes with the choicest odour to real believers or with an obnoxious smell to the wicked. Thus the souls of men last on until in the final "objective resurrection," *kiyameti afakı*, a fire will consume all "except His Face."[1]

How familiar this conception is to Bektashis generally it is impossible to say. An explanation of death and its significance in terms that would be acceptable to the more philosophical is to be found in Browne's *Year Among the Persians*, pp. 140-142. The idea expressed there is that evil or imperfect souls on dying pass not into the physical bodies of animals in the likeness of which they have lived, but rather into a World of Similitudes, *alemi mithal*, where, unseen by the physical world, souls live on in the spiritual state their imaginations and desires have created. In general there is astonishingly little said about the next life in the poems and other literature of the Bektashis. Their poems criticise freely enough the ideas of the Sunni teaching, but they say little of their own ideas. The return back into the Godhead, the actual attaining to the goal of their journey is the only idea upon which they place emphasis.

As a matter of practical belief, however, it will be seen again and again in the section on Practices that Bektashis call for help on the great Saints of their order. The return into the Godhead is not in actual practice conceived as any loss of individuality. The departed Saint is still a living presence upon whom the believer can call for assistance in time of need.

C.—DOCTRINES PECULIAR TO THE BEKTASHIS

As it has already been pointed out, the division of beliefs into those held in common with other Turkish mystics and

[1] This last statement is taken from a MS. immediately following in my collection the "*Fi Tahkiki Azrail*." It is entitled *Kiyameti Afakı*.

those peculiar to the Bektashis is at best, as any classification must be, a purely artificial one. In the doctrines to be discussed in this section the Bektashis differ from most of the Turkish dervish orders in being frankly Shii in their tendency. It is said that the Shiis of Persia do not recognize the Bektashis as fellow Shiis, for they carry to an absolute extreme their deification of Ali, but in one Bektashi poem at least the claim is made that the Bektashis are the original Shiis[1]:

Even from the gathering of Eternity we are the confessed Shiis
Here, making that confession again, we are the Shiis.

Ta ezel bezminden ikrar eyliyen şiileriz
Bunda ol ikrarı tekrar eyliyen şiileriz.

1. *The Trinity*

Although agreeing at many points with the ordinary Shii point of view, even at these points, however, the Bektashis have their own characteristic emphases. We may begin our discussion, therefore, of this section by noting that following the above described belief in God as the one Reality there are in the mind of the Bektashis special manifestations of this Reality in Muhammad and Ali. The identification of these three, in fact, is so close that it amounts to a doctrine of Trinity: *Hak* or Reality and Muhammad and Ali, *Sefil Abdal* writes[2]:

God, Muhammad, Ali, all are one secret

Allah Muhammet Ali hep bir sırdır.

and *Perişan Baba* says[3]:

The Divine Reality, Muhammad, Ali are true

Hak Muhammet Ali haktır.

Pir Mehmet in a *nefes* expresses the same thought[4]:

If you ask about all I have in this world—
God is one, Muhammad Ali whom I love.

Bu cihanda külli varım sorarsan
Allah bir Muhammet Ali sevdiğim.

[1] *Kenzler, B.Ş.* 245.
[2] *B.Ş.* 327.
[3] *B.Ş.* 302.
[4] *B.Ş.* 306.

He is the skirt upon which I lean,[1]
Both my religion and, by God, my faith.
In the secret house of the heart my guest.
God is one, Muhammad Ali whom I love.

Odur dayandıgım dâmânım benim
Hem din ile billâh imanım benim
Gizli kalp evinde mihmanım benim
Allah bir Muhammet Ali sevdiğim.

Oh, without thee whom I love I cannot exist for one moment
Without thee also I cannot be happy and laugh at all
Other than thee I cannot know any Friend
God is one, Muhammad Ali whom I love.

A sevdiğim sensiz bir an olamam
Şadolup ta sensiz bir dem gülemem
Senden özge bir yâr dahi bilemem
Allah bir Muhammet Ali sevdiğim.

Kul Himmet also says in one of his poems[2]:

"There is no God but God" is love
"Muhammad the Prophet of God" is love
"Ali, Prince, Saint of God" is love
Three names, in meaning one, love.

Love is the light which Gabriel saw
In the midst of God Muhammad Ali.

Muhabbettir Lâilâheillallah
Muhabbettir Muhammet Resulûllah
Muhabbettir Ali Şah veliyullah
Uç isim, manada birdir muhabbet

Allah Muhammet Ali ortasinda
Cibrilin gördüğü nurdur muhabbet.

Muhammad and Ali are not thought of as two persons. They are to the Bektashi one, pronounced and written as if two names of one person. Thus when the Baba of the *Merdivenköy* tekke reports to visitors that the founder of his tekke is Muhammad Ali[3] he means not a single person in recent historic time but the

[1] A reference to the act in the Initiation Ceremony of holding the skirt of the *mürşit*.

[2] *B.Ş.* 221.

[3] See *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, 517. In Sept., 1933, when I visited this tekke, the resident, *Tevfik Baba*, attributed the founding of the tekke to "*Şah Kuli*, a dervish who was a follower of the way of Muhammad Ali." *Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dede Baba*, who died in 1325 (1907), did much to bring the tekke back to influence and power, but the Muhammad Ali referred to is evidently the theological figure in which the Prophet and his son-in-law are united.

theological figure of the two from whom the mysteries of religion came. "Ali is Muhammad, Muhammad Ali," *Kul Âdil* says in a *nefes,*[1] and *Yesari* has a "Twelve Imam" *nefes* in which each stanza ends with the same thought: "Muhammad is Ali, Ali Muhammad," and the opening lines say[2]:

God forbid that anyone should see them as separate from one another
Muhammad is Ali, Ali Muhammad.
Haşa birbirinden kim ayri gördü
Muhammet Alidir, Ali Muhammet.

United thus in a Trinity, God, Muhammad and Ali are nevertheless, for practical purposes, often distinguished from one another. The tradition is a favourite one among Bektashis that Muhammad once said: "I am the City of learning, and Ali is its Doorway." This tradition would seem to make Muhammad, if anything, the more important of the two, but it is not so understood by Bektashis. Muhammad's place is theoretically always an honoured one among Bektashis. The first radiance emanating from the undifferentiated Godhead is called the "Light of Muhammad." In Muhammad and in the Kuran sent down to him is to be found the sufficient material for the science of religion, but the entrance into an understanding of that material is to be found in Ali. Hence it is that Ali assumes among Bektashis the predominant place. To understand the Bektashi Mystery we must understand somewhat in detail the Ali whom they revere. We shall, therefore, attempt to describe, first the Ali of tradition, the human Ali as he walked on earth and participated in the affairs of man as that figure is commonly pictured among Bektashis; and then finally the doctrinal Ali as he is represented in his cosmic significance.

2. *The Ali of Tradition*

As a background for appreciating the figure of Ali as he is pictured by Bektashis a few sentences will be sufficient to outline the actual Ali of History. He was born about the year 600, the son of *Abu Talip*, who was an uncle of the Prophet. As a boy he was adopted by Muhammad and was educated under his care. One of the first to declare his belief in Muhammad when he was only ten or fifteen years of age, he was later given

[1] *B.Ş.* 430. [2] *B.Ş.* 409.

in marriage, to Fatma, the daughter of Muhammad and by her had two sons, *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. Brave and faithful as a soldier he was considered by some to be the rightful successor to Muhammad. As a matter of fact, however, he only succeeded to the Caliphate in 656 following *Abu Bekir, Ömer* and *Osman*. He became almost immediately embroiled in rebellions. From Kufa, near the Euphrates River in Mesopotamia, where he established his capital, he carried on warfare against *Muaviya*, the able governor of Syria. In 661 he was killed by a poisoned arrow, and buried, according to common belief in Nejef, four miles from Kufa.[1]

Famous as a warrior, a scholar, a sage and a saint Ali has become in Bektashi lore a figure of colossal dimensions. For their information about him and his sons, Bektashis read the *Hadikatüssüada*,[2] Garden of *Seyit's* by *Fuzuli* who wrote in the sixteenth century and who is famous as one of the greatest of Turkish poets. This book is in the main based on the *Revzatüşşüheda* of the Persian poet *Hüseyin Vâiz*.

Another favourite account of the life of Ali is in the *Revzatulahbap*,[3] a translation by *Benli Zade* of Manisa from the Persian of *Ata Allah ibn Fazlullah Şirazı*. But the great source of both inspiration and information is the *Faziletname*,[4] a rhymed poem in praise of Ali. It would detain us altogether too long to give a full account of Ali as he is represented in these sources.[5] We must instead, give only those particular traditions which have so entered into the thought life of the Bektashis as to colour their thinking and to be reflected in their literature. Foremost in this traditional picture is Ali's character as a warrior, and his possession of *Düldül*, the mule on which he rode, and of a two-edged sword called the *Zülfikâr* In Turkish there is a collection of eight stories which tell of the miraculous feats of daring and strength accomplished by Ali

[1] This belief, however, is disputed. See Donaldson's *The Shi'ite Religion*, p. 54 for various other claims. Chapt. III, IV, and V, give excellent accounts of Ali as Caliph and Imam, and of his shrine at Nejef.

[2] Printed in Boulac in 1253 (1837) and again later in Constantinople. Numerous manuscript copies are to be found dating from as early as about 1600. An excellent copy in the writer's private collection is dated 1037 (1627).

[3] Of this there have been at least two printings, a three vol. one in 1268 (1851) and a four vol. edition in 1288 (1871).

[4] A printed version dated 1325, 27 (1909), is still occasionally to be found. A well preserved copy dated 979 (1571), is in the writer's collection. This book is said to have been written in 926 (1519) by *Yemini Baba*.

[5] For an excellent account of the life of Ali containing details of the traditions as found in the *Faziletname* and elsewhere see Brown's *Dervishes* chapt. XVII.

as he rides on *Duldül*[1] and wields the *Zülfikâr*.[2] These stories are read not only by Bektashis but by others, and account in some measure at least for giving Ali a reputation of mythological proportions among a large part of the common people.[3]

The miraculous character of Ali's personality became apparent when he was a mere child. A *Tarikatname* or Book of the Way[4] attributed to *Eşrefoğlu Rumı*, who though not considered to have been actually a Bektashi, has been, nevertheless, one of the most popular poets among the Bektashis, tells the story of a Giant creature, *Div*, (vulg. Dev.) who, according to a tradition from *Cafer Sadık*, once caught a son of man behind Mt. Kaf[5] and was about to eat him when a boy with the appearance of a lion gave him a blow and bound him with date leaves by the neck and with his hands behind his back. To each prophet beginning with Adam, the Giant appealed for release. Each prophet showed goodwill but was unable to untie the bond that held the giant in such close confinement that blood flowed from his neck. Finally he appealed to Muhammad telling the whole story of his suffering. Muhammad asked if he would recognize the boy who bound him. On receiving an affirmative answer all the companions, *ashap*, of the Prophet were caused to pass by in the presence of the Giant, Ali among them still a boy walking by the side of *Selman Farisi*. When the Giant saw Ali he began to tremble and cried out to Muhammad that there was the one who had bound him. Muhammad asked Ali if that were true. Ali confessed, but refused to free the Giant until he first became a Moslem and promised not to eat men again. Then with a gesture of Ali's finger the bond was untied and the

[1] See Encl. of Islam, *Duldül*. Although said to be a white she-mule it is always pictured in Turkish stories as a horse.

[2] See Encl. of Islam, Dhu'l Fakar. This famous sword which came into the possession of Muhammad as booty in the Battle of Badr and later passed to Ali, is always pictured in Ali stories and in Bektashi symbols as a long two-pointed sword.

[3] An undated lithographed edition contains the eight stories called *Gazavât*, Conquests. Several at least of these have been printed in the new Turkish letters. At the bookstall in the courtyard of the *Eyup* mosque in 1934 I purchased the following: *Hayber Kalesi*, *Kan Kalesi*, *Hâverzemin* and *Billûru Âzam* all by the *Emniyet Matbaasi*. *Ejder Kalesi* is printed by the *Yusuf Ziya Kitaphanesi*. There are other similar stories in Turkish telling of the miraculous fighting qualities of Ali. See p. 59, N.4 for a reference to the influence of these on a modern Turkish writer. In the writer's collection there is a manuscript copy of the *Kan Kalesi* story.

[4] In the manuscript collection of Bektashi and *Tasavvuf* Texts 221. In *B.Ş.* 223 there is a long poem by *Kul Himmet* giving practically the same story in verse form.

[5] Mt. Kaf or *Kaf Dağı* is the mythological mountain in eight ranges which was believed to surround the earth. It is often mentioned in Bektashi verse. Cf. Encycl. of Islam, art. Kaf.

Giant was set free. The exact interpretation given this parable by Bektashis I am unable to describe. It seems to be an allegory of man's troubles, *dertler*, and their cure, *derman*. There is no more constant refrain in Bektashi poems than the reference to some trouble, *dert*, especially the pain of separation, the disharmony that comes from the realization of *ikilik* "duality," the cure of which is to be found in Ali and his descendants.

"My troubles are many," *Pir Sultan Abdal* sings,[1]
"Again the wound of my heart is renewed,
From this trouble where shall I find the cure
Unless I find it from the hand of the *Şah*. (Shah)"[2]

Derdim çoktur kangısına yanayim
Yine tazelendi yürek yâresi
Ben bu dertten hande derman bulayım
Meğer Şah elinden ola çaresi.

This "trouble," *dert*, is sometimes described as a screen let down to conceal the truth of Reality from the unbelieving. Thus *Aşık Hasan* in one of his poems[3] says that Ali is "The one who causes to descend the screen before the eyes of the unbeliever." *Münkirin gözüne perde indiren, Alidir.* As in the case of the Giant, he is the one who both lets down the screen and yet is the only one who can lift it.

Even more famous than this story of Ali's power as a child is the account of the part he played in Muhammad's famous ascent, *miraç*, to heaven. Called by Gabriel to make the ascent, Muhammad took a guide, *rehber*, as he was commanded, then met on the way a lion who greatly frightened him until a voice from God calmed him by saying that the lion simply wanted from him a token. Muhammad gave him his ring, then passed on into the presence of God with whom he discussed the ninety-thousand mysteries. Since the conversation took place through a screen Muhammad finally ventured to ask if this screen could not be raised. The screen was raised and behind it he saw Ali. Before leaving, God gave him a bunch of grapes to give to his grandchildren, *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. *Selman* who was also present asked for a grape and Muhammad gave him one. On the way back he came upon a group who said they were the "Forty." Counting them Muhammad found only thirty-nine. But at that moment *Selman* arrived and completed the Forty. As they conversed together an invisible hand squeezed the

[1] *B.Ş.* 308.
[2] Ali is frequently called the *Şah* or King.
[3] *B.Ş.* 19 and No. 4.

grape in *Selman's* hand. One of the Forty drinking from the juice thus produced, all became intoxicated. They began to dance, playing the while on instruments, *çalpane*,[1] and reciting the word that stands for God, *Hu, hu*, literally, "He, he." Ali then, more overflowing with ecstasy than the others, put himself in the middle and took from his mouth the seal ring Muhammad had given the lion. Muhammad then recognized Ali, and understood his true nature, thus attaining himself by this act of understanding to the Divine Reality.[2] This traditional meeting is said to be the prototype of the *Aynicem* observed by both the Bektashis and the Kizilbash as their principal ceremony of worship.[3]

Another tradition which is formative in determining the attitude of Bektashis toward Ali is the story of the part Ali played in the Battle of Uhut. On that occasion it is said Muhammad became sorely wounded. As the blood flowed, the angel Gabriel came to him and spread out his wings over him telling him to recite the prayer of "calling on Ali," *nadi Aliyen*. As soon as Muhammad recited this prayer Ali immediately came to his rescue, drew his *Zülfikâr* sword and hewed down the enemy, saving both Muhammad and all the Moslems. This prayer, always in Arabic, is well known among both the Bektashis and Kizilbash. It runs as follows:

"In the name of the King[4]:

Call upon Ali, the manifestor of marvels; thou shalt find him a help unto thee in adversities. I have need for Allah, Most High. I call upon Thee. All care and anxiety will clear away through the light of Thy Greatness, O Allah, O Allah, O Allah[5]; Through the light of thy Prophetship, O Muhammad,

[1] Perhaps meaning the *çalpare*, a kind of cymbal. See *Kamusu Türkı*.

[2] For this account see *Ilâhiyat Fakultesi Mecmuası*, No. 8, page 114ff. An Alevi Baba tells the story thus to Prof. *Yusuf Ziya Bey*. On pages 117-119 there is a poem by *Hatayı* relating the same story. For references to the same story see *Kul Himmet, B.Ş.*, 216-218; *Kul Budala, B.Ş.*, 205; *Bosnavı, B.Ş.* 41, etc.

[3] For a slightly different account of this first gathering see the word *Kırklar* in the Glossary.

[4] *Bismi Şah*. This invocation is frequently used by Bektashis instead of the conventional one, "In the name of God." The version of the prayer used here is that in the writer's manuscript copy of various Bektashi rites, ceremonies and symbols. This collection will be referred to hereafter as *Erkân-name* No. 4. A version very similar is to be found in *Ilâhiyat Fak. Mec.* No. 15, p. 80, and a shortened form in *Bek. ve. Edebiyatı* p. 25.

[5] The prayer as far as this point but with slight changes, especially substituting the word Ali for God in the final invocation, was used as an inscription on the coins of Shah Ismail I, founder of the *Safevı* Dynasty, famous in Bektashi literature as *Hatayı*. See Codrington's Manual of Musalman Numismatics, 95.

O Muhammad, O Muhammad; through the secret of thy Saintship O Ali, O Ali, O Ali; come to me, come to me, come to me, O Ali, O possessor of Beauty and Perfection, O owner of Divinity (*üluhiyet*) and Majesty; For the sake of *El Hüseyin*, and his grandfather, and his father, and his mother, and his brother and his sons, save us from all care and anxiety by the mercy of the Most Merciful of the merciful; and O best of those who help, O overturner of hearts and minds, change our hearts and our minds for the sake of thy pleasure and the vision of those who long for Thee and the elect. There is no one like Ali, and there is no sword like the *Zülfikâr*. He is the Friend of our Lord. Hear us for the sake of the honourable Muhammad and *Haydar*."

The final tradition to which we wish to refer is the story of Ali's burial. It is said that just before he died he called his sons *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* and told them that after he had died a person with veiled face would call to take his body away for burial. The sons were to allow this to be done. In illustration number 13 there is a picture of this being accomplished, the coffin on a camel, a veiled figure leading the unattended funeral. Burning with curiosity *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* are said to have run after the departing camel and to have demanded the identity of the man leading it! *Âşık Hasan* in one of his *nefes'es* refers to this story as well as a preceding tradition, characteristically identifying Haji Bektash with Ali[1]:

He who sat upon the road as a lion
He who squeezed the grape juice for the Forty
He who carried away his own funeral
The Sovereign Haji Bektash is Ali himself.

Aslan olup yol üstünde oturan
Engûr şerbetini Kırklara ezen
Kendi cenazesin Kendi götüren
Hunkâr Haci Bektaş Ali Kendidir.

3. *The Doctrinal Significance of Ali*

The foregoing traditions are sufficient to show how completely Ali is identified in Bektashi thought with God Himself. It is natural, therefore, that there should be a tradition according to which Muhammad appoints Ali as his rightful successor. The tradition is said to have come from *Cafer Sadık*, and reports that when the Prophet was sixty-three years old he began to

[1] *B.Ş.* 19; cf. Ill. no. 13.

meditate on the fact that he was soon to return to the Divine Reality. As he considered who was to take his place and offer guidance for his people the angel Gabriel told him that Azrail had by command of God ordered him to appoint as his successor the Saint of God, *Veliyullah*. The following Friday Muhammad ordered Belal to gather all the Companions into the place of worship. When they were all present he took Ali by the hand and led him on to the *Minber* and addressed his hearers as follows: "I have made Ali the Great Imam over you and I have inspired him. You must see that the people obey him. Since it is by the order of God and the judgment of the Kuran you also must be obedient and subject to him. Since the apostle of God is kept sinless it is necessary that the one taking his place must be pure also." The imamate and the leadership he gave to Ali, then descended from the minber, took off the belt from his own waist and put it around Ali, saying: "Whoever stretches forth a hand against Ali is a wrongdoer. May the curse of God be upon him. Ali the son of *Abu Talib* is the true Imam. Whoever recognizes me as the true Apostle let him recognize Ali also as the revelation and successor. From his generation, that is, from my children, there will come Twelve Imams. The Imamate is theirs. They are true and they are kept sinless. May mercy be to all Believers and Moslems who love them; and those who do not love them be cursed and rejected. The curse of God be upon the people who are oppressors and the mercy of God be upon the people who are Believers."[1]

In this tradition is embedded the basis for two of the fundamental principles of Bektashiism as well as of all Shiism,—*Tevellâ* or love for all those who render allegiance to Ali and the Family of the House, and *Teberrâ* or hatred toward all those who do not love and render allegiance to them.

The Witness of the Hutbetül Beyan.

The development of a theory as to the significance of Ali and his relation to the cosmic order is most fully described in a book called the *Hutbetül Beyan*,[2] or Sermon of Explanation.

[1] In the writer's Bektashi and *Tasavvuf* Texts, this tradition from *Cafer Sadık* is given twice in identical language, beginning on pages 191 and 217.

[2] The discussion following is based on a beautifully written copy containing the Seventy Words in Arabic with a commentary in Turkish in the writer's private collection. The book is dated 999 (1590) and is signed by *Derviş Gaybi*. The book is followed by several pages of *Tercuman* or ritual prayers, of the Door, the Threshold, *Namaz, Meydan Taşı, Dar, Tiğ, Teslim*, and a *Silsile* of the *Pir* and the *Tarik*.

According to this book the dispute between *Muaviye* and Ali as to who should be Caliph came about in this way: During the life of the Prophet, Ali once said to *Muaviye* that there was a question he wished to ask the Prophet. Feeling ashamed to do so himself he asked *Muaviye* to ask Muhammad who would be his successor after his death. He insisted that not only the first but the first four successors should be inquired about. *Muaviye* agreed and, because the Prophet at the time was in retirement, he put the questions through his sister *Ummu Habibe Hatun* who was a wife of Muhammad. The Prophet replied that *Abu Bekir* would succeed him, that *Ömer* would follow him, and *Osman* follow next. Then the Prophet, pressed to answer who would be the next Successor or Caliph, said that the one asking the question would be. For it was known to the Prophet that the one really asking the question was Ali. But the Prophet's answer was made an excuse by *Muaviye* for claiming the Caliphate since he claimed he was the questioner. Ali refused to render allegiance to *Muaviye* but instead claimed the right to demand *Muaviye's*, because God had granted to him an "excellence," *fazilet*, over all others. From him would come eleven descendants who would possess a similar "excellence," but he would be the most excellent of them all. *Muaviye* naturally asked for proof, and Ali replied by uttering "Seventy Words," *yetmiş kelime*, which defined his own identity and which became known as the *Hutbetül Beyan* or "Sermon of Explanation." The companions of the Prophet finding these words in accordance with both the Kuran and Tradition, *hadis*, wrote them down and preserved them calling them The Book of Ali's Identity, *Kitabul enaniyeti Ali*. Many commentaries having been written in Arabic and Persian on these Words, the author, a certain *Şeh Seyit Hüseyin ibn Seyit Gaybi* wishing to make them available also to the many who did not know Arabic and Persian ventured to put them into Turkish. The first twenty-five of the Seventy Words are as follows:

1. "I am he who has the keys of the unknown. No one after Muhammad knows them except me. And I know all things." *Anā 'lladhi 'indī mafātihu'l-ghaibi lā ya'lamuhā ba'du Muhammadin ghairī wa anā bi-kulli shay' in alimun.* According to a tradition from *Ibn Abbas* the Prophet while living said that God gave knowledge in six portions. One portion was given to the people of the world. Five portions were placed in Ali. The Prophet besides having said, "I am the City of

knowledge and Ali is its Gateway," also said, "The Kuran has its external meaning, *zahir*, and its hidden meaning, *batın*, and in its hidden meaning are other hidden meanings even to the seventh and the seventieth hidden meaning." Ali knows and can make known to all the external meaning, but the hidden meanings are known only to him.

2. "I am the owner of the two ages, *Zülkarneyn*,[1] mentioned in the early books." *Anā Dhū 'l-Qarnaini 'l-madhkūru fī' l-suhufi 'l-ūlā*. The first age was from when God first granted the light of saintship and the pole of prophecy down to the time of the Seal of the Prophets. The second age is from Muhammad's time onward when God would make appear the saintship of Ali's descendants. The first age was that of the Prophets; the second, that of the saints and the imams.

3. "I am the proof, who has the seal of Solomon." *Anā Hujjatu 'lladhī 'indī khātimu Sulaimāna 'bni Dāwūda 'alaihimā 'l-salāmu*. That is, if my name were not on the seal nothing in the world would be obedient to it.

4. "I am the proof of all the prophets." *Anā Hujjatu 'l-Anbiyā jami'an*. It is by virtue of my light of Prophecy that all the prophets have been able to do their deeds. Muhammad himself bore this testimony. "I and Ali are of one Light."

5. "I am the judge of all creatures." *Anā 'lladhī atawallā hisāba 'l-khala'iki ajma'ina*. The proof of this is in the statement of Muhammad that; "Ali, the son of *Abu Talip*, is the one who will apportion the Fire and Paradise."

6. "I am the Preserved Tablet," *Anā 'l-lawha 'l-Mahfūzu*. The angel of death, Azrail, can do nothing without my permission.

7. "I am the heart of God." *Anā Qalbu 'llāhi*. As the Prophet has said; "The heart of the believer is the House of God," and, "O Ali, thy flesh is my flesh; thy blood is my blood. He who knows thee, honours me, and he who despises thee, despises me."

8. "I am the place of refuge of God," *Anā jannatu 'llāhi*. That is, I am the court, *dergâh*, of God where the people may take refuge. I will cause to receive the mercy of God whoever leans on me; that is, whoever practises *tevellâ*, who is a friend of those who hold me as a friend, and who practises *teberrâ*, who is an enemy of my enemies.

9. "I am the one to whom the Prophet of God said: 'The Way is thine and the Station is thine.'" *Anā 'llādhī qāla Rasūlu 'llāhi sallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa sallama 'l-sirātu sirātuka va 'l-mawqifu mawqifuka*. Ali being the one who has not departed from the Straight Way mentioned in the first chapter of the Kuran, the right is his of inquiring at the first Station of the

[1] Ency. of Islam I, 962, see article *Dhu'l-Karnain*.

Bridge of *Sirat* whether or not souls have loved Ali and his eleven sinless, *masum*, descendants. As God has said in his word: "Say; For this I ask no wage of you, save the love of my kin."[1]

10. "I am he who possesses the knowledge of the Book, of all that has been and of all that is to be." *Anā 'lladhī 'indī 'ilmu 'l-kitābi: makana wa ma yakūn.*

11. "I am the first Noah and I am the Ark of Noah." *Anā nūhuni l-awwalu wa anā safīnatu nūhin.* As the Prophet of God said: "The Ark of Noah is a parable, *misal*, of the love of the People of My House." As salvation came to Noah by the Ark, so it comes to humanity by Ali.

12. "I am the former of the clouds," *Anā munshī'u'l-sahābi.* As the Prophet of God said: "The hand of saintship or sovereignty, *vilayet eli*, is Ali's. He is appointed to watch over the clouds."

13. "I am the one who causes people to hear the thunder and the one who makes the lightning." *Anā mustami'u 'l-ra'di wa mubriqu'l-barqi.* As the Prophet is reported to have said: "The voice of Ali in battle is like the sound of thunder."

14. "I am the one who causes the rivers to flow." *Anā mutirru'l-anhār.* As *Abdullah ibni Abbas* has reported the Prophet as having said: "Ali is the one who causes the fountains to pour forth and the rivers to flow."

15. "I am the upholder of the heavens." *Anā 'l-Simāku 'l-Samā wāti.* As *Ibni Abbas* has quoted the Prophet's saying that in every heaven as he ascended on his midnight journey, *miraç*, he heard the name of Ali being praised. In answer to the question as to what language he talked with God on this journey the Prophet of God replied: "My Lord addressed me in the language of *Ibni Abu Talib.*"

16. "I am the friend of Job, the Tested One and the one who cured him, and the friend of Jonah, of the great fish and his deliverer." *Anā sāhibu Aīyūba 'l-mubtalā wa shāfīhi wa anā sāhibu Yūnusa dhā 'l-nūni wa munjīhi.* The proof of this is that Job and Jonah were not cured of their ills until they interceded in the Name of Ali, and received their rescue from the light of Ali's saintship. On the night of *Miraç* as the Prophet was returning from the talk with his Lord he was allowed to enter Paradise and there found himself face to face with the *Sidre* tree in the midst of and round about which were gathered houris and young men bearing on their banners the words: "There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Prophet of God and Ali is the Saint, *Veli*, of God." In answer to Muhammad's question Gabriel replied that this was the tree of Ali whose leaves were for the healing of all troubles of the prophets.

17. "I am the light from which Moses took and by which

[1] Kuran 42:22.

he was granted right guidance." *Anā nūru 'lladhī 'qtabasa mūsā minhu fa-hada.* A tradition from the Prophet says that Moses received various kinds of learning from the light of Ali's Saintship.

18. "I receive my sinlessness from God." *Anā ma'sūmun min 'inda 'llāhi.* If Ali were not innocent, sinless, God would never have sent down this verse: "O apostle, proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord."[1] With the authority of this verse Muhammad would never have proclaimed Ali his legatee, *vasi,* unless he had been sinless. It follows that Ali's eleven descendants were also sinless.

19. "I am the revelation of God most high." *Anā wahī 'llāhi ta'ālā.* God's revelation having been made known to the prophets in one hundred and four books, all that is in these books is made known in three books, the *Tevrat,* the *Zebur* and the *Incil*; all that is in these three books is contained also in the Kuran; all that is in the Kuran is revealed in the first chapter, the *Fatiha*; all that is in the *Fatiha* is in the superscription, "In the name of God the merciful compassionator"; and all that is in that is in the point under the letter *be*; and Ali has said: "I am the point under the *Be.*"[2] Hence it is proved that Ali is the Revelation of God.

20. "I am the one who speaks all the languages in the world." *Anā mutakallimun bi-kulli lughatin fī 'l-dunyā.* This is a common saying among all the men of learning, that Ali knows the seventy-two languages.

21. "I am the keeper of the knowledge of God, most high." *Anā khāzinu 'ilmi 'llāhi ta'ālā.* This is in accordance with the doctrine accepted by all that "Muhammad is the City of knowledge and Ali is its Gateway."

22. "I am the evidence, or proof, of God for everything that is in the heavens and above the earth." *Anā hujjatu 'llāhi 'alā man fī 'l-samāwāti wa fawqa 'l-ardīna.* The proof of this is in a tradition received through *Ibni* Abbas that the Prophet said: "The Imams and the Evidence of God after me shall be twelve from the *Kureish*; the first of them shall be Ali and the last of them Mehdi."

23. "I am the evidence of God for the Jinn and for men." *Anā hujjatu 'llāhi 'alā 'l-jinni wa 'l-insi.* In proof of this is another tradition of the Prophet: "Ali the son of *Abu Talib,* he is the Imam and the Evidence after me, and my child *Hüseyin* is the evidence of God and his brother, and they are the fathers of the nine evidences, and the ninth of them endures permanently, *Kaimdir.*

24. "I am the first and second blasts of the trumpet at the resurrection." *Anā 'l-rājifatu wa anā 'l-radifatu.*

[1] Kuran 5:71.

[2] This tradition from Ali is one oft quoted in Bektashi literature.

25. " I am that book in which there is no doubt." *Anā dhālika 'l-kitābu lā raiba fīhi.* That is, Ali is the real Kuran just as the Prophet has said in calling Ali the vocal Kuran, *Kurani natik* ; and as Ali has said : " I am the vocal Kuran of God."

These twenty-five words of Ali are sufficient to show the general claims made for Ali in the whole book. The remaining forty-five continue in similar vein, asserting that Ali has in his hands the keys of heaven and hell[1] ; that he is the meaning of the letters, *kef,he,ye, ayın* and *sad* with which the nineteenth chapter of the Kuran begins[2] ; that he is the real *Kâbe*[3] ; that he is both *Muhammad el Mustafa* and *Ali ul Murteza* ; and that he is described by all the ninety-nine qualities of God with the exception of divinity, *üluhiyet*[4] ; power of creating, *halk* ; and of giving commands, *emir*.

The *Hutbetül Beyan*, at least with its Turkish commentary, indicates both the supreme place occupied by Ali, and also the obvious effort being made to reconcile this attitude with the nominal authority given to the words of Muhammad. It is as though with a touch of *takiye*, or dissimulation, the doctrine of Ali is being supported both for the benefit of new believers and for the benefit of possible orthodox critics from the outside.

4. *The Twelve Imams*

We have already seen in the Seventy Words of Ali that all the sinlessness and divine authority attributed to him are also attributed to his descendants down to *Mehdi*. A consideration of the Twelve Imams need detain us no further here than to point out that in Bektashi literary expression there is no more common subject for praise than the Twelve Imams. In a *nefes* which is to be found set to music the following very characteristic attitude is expressed[5] :

Muhammad Ali established this Way.
This is the rite of the Divine Reality for him who knows Reality.
Without saying yes Deniers cannot enter it ;
The Faithful enter. It is the place of the hero.

[1] Forty-eighth word.
[2] Fifty-third word.
[3] Sixty-fourth word.
[4] Sixty-ninth word. Note that *üluhiyet* was apparently attributed to Ali in the *Nadı Ali* prayer.
[5] *Nefes* by *Baba Güncı*, in *Istanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı, Bektaşı Nefesleri*, II, 200.

Bu yolu kurmuşlar Muhammet Ali
Hak bilene Hakkın erkânıdır bu
Münkirler giremez demeden beli
Sadıklar girer er meydanıdır bu.

This is what *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* loved
This is what *Zeynel Abidin* saw
This is what *Imam Bakir* showed
This is the faith of *Cafer Sadık.*

Hasanla Hüseyinin sevdiği budur
Zeynel Abidinin gördüğü budur
Imami Bakirin gösterdiği budur
Cafer Sadıkın imanıdır bu.

A King separated himself off from *Musa Kâzim*
His last fruit was my Patron Saint Bektash
It is he who guided *Rum* aright ; that rose faced moon,
He is the King of the *Aynicem.*

Musa Kâzimdan ayrıldı bir şah
Son meyvası pirim Bektaş eyvallah
Rumu irşadeden ol gül yüzlü mah
Ayını Cem şahmerdanıdır bu.

Imam Ali gave it to *Taki* and *Naki*
Ali Naki made it known to *Askerı*
Muhammad Mehdi also attained to this secret.
This is the rotation of Muhammad Ali.

Imam Ali, Taki[1] *Nakiye verdi*
Ali Naki, Askerıye bildirdi
Muhammet Mehdı de bu sırra erdi
Muhammet Alinin devranıdır bu.

These names of the Twelve Imams were, according to a

[1] In the text as given in the Conservatory of Music publication the word *Riza* is in place of *Taki*, omitting *Imam Taki* altogether. The list of Twelve Imams in order is as follows :

Imami Ali
,, *Hasan*
,, *Hüseyin*
,, *Zeynelabidin*
,, *Muhammet Bakir*
,, *Cafer Sadık*
,, *Musa Kâzim*
,, *Ali Riza*
,, *Muhammet Taki*
,, *Ali Naki*
,, *Haseni Askerı*
,, *Mehdi*

For a full discussion of the history and significance of the Twelve Imams see Donaldson's *The Shi'ite Religion.*

Bektashi treatise, revealed by the angel Gabriel to Adam when his body was black with sin. Gabriel told him to fast on the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth of each month and to mention the names of these twelve persons. Adam did so and found that each day his body, beginning from his feet, became white until on the fifteenth of the month he was all white, and after that whenever Adam was in difficulty he had but to mention these twelve names and immediately find the victory his.[1] This tradition was handed down to Muhammad, and reflects the theoretic belief of the Bektashi of recent times.

5. *The Fourteen Pure Innocents*

In addition to the Twelve Imams, Bektashis also reverence the Fourteen Pure Innocents, *on dört masumu pak.* There is a tradition from *Cafer Sadık* that no one can properly be a *Dede*, or a Baba, or a dervish, or even a *Muhip* unless he knows the Fourteen Innocents, their names and their genealogies, as well as the Twelve Imams.[2] These Fourteen Innocents were all children of Imams, were martyred while they were young, and several of them were killed at the Battle of Kerbela in which Hüseyin was also killed.[3] The Bektashi books give the names of the Fourteen, the names also of their fathers, of the men who struck them down and the place of their burial. Unfortunately, the three manuscript records at hand differ from each other so much that it is not possible to reconstruct any common tradition for all the details. In general the three accounts agree on the following[4]:

First Innocent—Muhammet Ekber, son of Imam Ali, killed at the age of forty days.

Second—Abdullah, son of *Imam Hasan*; killed when seven years old.

Third—Abdullah Ekber, son of *Imam Hüseyin.*

Fourth—Kasim, son of *Imam Hüseyin*, martyred at the age of three.[5]

[1] *Risalei Seyit Safeddin*, p. 95 in *Erkânname* No. 4.

[2] *Erkânname*, No. 4, p. 203.

[3] Donaldson's *Shi'ite Rel.*, p. 86 reports several sons of *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* not counted among the Fourteen.

[4] In the writer's volume of manuscripts called herein Bektashi Texts, pp. 118-120, and in the *Erkânname* No. 4, pp. 200-203. *Uyunul Hidaye* at the end gives similar details for both the Imams and the Fourteen Innocents. There is also a list in *Miratül Mekasit*, p. 225 ff.

[5] The first two lists invert the order of the Third and Fourth Innocents, *Uyunul Hidaye* is in agreement with this order.

Fifth—Hüseyin, son of *Imam Zeynelabidin*, martyred at the age of six years.[1]

Sixth—Kasim Sait, son of *Zeynelabidin*, martyred at the age of four.

Seventh—Ali el Aktar, son of *Imam Muhammad Bakir*, martyred at four.

Eighth—Abdullah Asgar, son of *Imam Cafer Sadık* martyred at three.

Ninth—Yahya el Hadi, son of *Imam Cafer Sadık* martyred at ten.

Tenth—Salih son of *Musa Kâzim*.[2]

Eleventh—Tayyib, son of *Musa Kâzim*.

Twelfth—Cafer,[3] son of *Imam Muhammad Taki*.

Thirteenth—Cafer, son of *Hasan Askerı*.[4]

Fourteenth—Kasim, son of *Imam Ali Naki*, martyred at three years of age by *Mansur*, son of *Ibrahim* of Damascus; buried in *Jezire*.

We shall see later in our consideration of Hurufiism that these Fourteen Pure Innocents are considered special manifestations of God along with *Fatma, Hadice* and the Twelve Imams thus making twenty-eight in all, the number of the letters in the Arabic alphabet.[5]

6. *Hurufiism*

Hurufiism as an important element in Bektashiism has already been referred to. The interesting studies of Prof. E. G. Browne into the nature of this doctrine and his unexpected discovery that the doctrine was still living in the faith of thousands of Bektashis forms one of the fascinating pages in the story of recent research into the thought life of the East.[6] We have already seen how in the fifteenth century this sect spread through Asia Minor and for a time exercised a strong influence over the mind of the Conqueror Muhammad II.[7] The truth appears to be that many, if not all, of the dervish

[1] So in *Uyunul Hidaye* and in Bek. Texts. In *Erkânname* No. 4, the name is given as *Abdullah* III, who died at the age of four.

[2] The two accounts give different ages, names of murderers and burial places.

[3] So in *Uyunul Hidaye* and *Erk*. No. 4. In Bek. Texts the name is *Cafer Sadık*.

[4] So in Bektashi Texts, Son of *Imam Ali Naki* in *Erk*. No. 4; son of *Ali Hadi*, another name for *Ali Naki*, in *Uyun ul Hidaye*.

[5] Among the manuscripts in the writer's collection there are two accounts of the Fourteen Innocents counted in this way, in *Erk*. No. 4, pp. 1 and 2, and on the wall chart shown in Illus. No. 18. They thus appear also in a Catechism, *Erk*. No. 4, 21.

[6] See above, p. 17; *J.R.A.S.*, Jan., 1898, and July, 1907.

[7] See above, p. 62.

orders of Turkey became to a greater or less extent influenced by Hurufiism.[1] It was especially among the Bektashis, however, that the doctrine took firm root. The innate love of the followers of this order for the secret hidden truth made them fertile ground for this strange doctrine, and in the secrecy preserved by this order more closely than others this system, so open to attack on the ground of heresy, found the shelter needed to make possible a degree of abiding permanence.

The doctrine, as we have seen,[2] had its beginning in the year 800 (1398) when a man named *Fazlullah* of the city of Esterabad in *Horasan* proclaimed himself a new Prophet in whom the final truth of God and the universe were revealed. According to him, God's primal state was, as Islamic mysticism in general taught, an unknown First Cause who was indeed a "Hidden Treasure," *Kenzi Mahfi*, and whose first emanation or manifestation was in the form of the Word, *kelâm*. This Word in its original form was abstract and undifferentiated, *kelâmı nefsi*. As Ultimate Reality further revealed himself, this Abstract Word became separated and externalized into certain elements, the Twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet and the thirty-two letters of the Persian alphabet.[3] These form the elements of the Word Pronounced or Expressed, *kelâmı melfuz*. It is in their combination that the world of sense and consciousness came into existence.

It is natural that, since God's revelation of himself through prophets has been progressive, to each prophet should be revealed in turn an understanding of an increased number of these letters or elements out of which the universe was created. Thus to Adam was revealed a knowledge of nine letters, to Abraham fourteen, to Moses twenty-two, to Jesus twenty-four, to Muhammad twenty-eight and to the final prophet, *Fazlullah*, thirty-two. In the case of the last four, the number of elements each knew is the number of letters in the alphabet of the language in which the revealed book of each was written, twenty-two in Hebrew, twenty-four in Greek, twenty-eight in Arabic and thirty-

[1] See *Abdul Baki's Melâmılik ve Melâmıler* pages 103, 128, 284.

[2] See above p. 58. One of the best short statements of the doctrine of Hurufiism is to be found in Gibb i. 337ff. The description there follows in abbreviated form Browne's Article in *J.R.A.S.*, Jan. 1898. For further details and for a translation of some of the important Persian treatises, see Texts Houroufis by Huart, containing an essay on Hurufiism by Riza Tevfik *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial* .ix. 1909.

[3] In many Hurufi books the numbers 28 and 32 are written as follows: 28 [illegible] 32 [illegible] both being abbreviated forms of the Persian words for twenty-eight and thirty-two.

two in Persian. As this statement of the relationship of the various prophets to the known number of elements was one evening being explained to me by a well informed and very enthusiastic Hurufi-Bektashi in Albania, I asked how one could be sure that Adam knew only nine letters. With the assurance of complete confidence in the convincingness of his demonstration my friend drew to him a piece of paper and wrote down the number one, to that he added two, then three, four, and so forth up to nine. The total equalled forty-five. He then wrote down the numerical value of the three letters of Adam's name; *elif* equals one; *dal*, four; and *mim*, forty; again equalling forty-five. Adam was a simple man. One's a priori judgment of him would be that he could know only the simple numbers; ten would be a complex number. And one's expectations are proved to be true by the mathematical coincidence of the numerical value of his name's equalling one raised in an arithmetical progression to nine.[1]

It follows then that by a knowledge of the meaning of the thirty-two elements known to *Fazlullah* the interpretation of the true and hidden meanings of all that had been revealed to the former prophets might be made known. Passive vehicles for the impartation of God's revelations, the other prophets brought into the world God's revelations. Now in *Fazlullah's* teachings is to be found the key to unlock the meaning of all that had gone before.

Keeping in mind this theory of the number of letters one can approach an understanding of Hurufiism as it is believed by the Hurufi-Bektashi when one adds to that theory a certain interpretation of the passage in Kuran 95:4 " We have indeed created man in the best of forms." This " best of forms " which man has can only refer to God's own form and nature. Therefore man is, as we have seen Islamic mysticism in general to assert, the microcosm in which all of reality is manifested. Parallel with this passage from the Kuran is the tradition oft quoted among Bektashis, " He who has known himself has known his Lord,"[2] *men arafa nefsehu fakat arafa rabbahu.*

This combination of ideas once understood, one can appreciate the inevitable urge to bring into this system all that has been said above about Ali and the other twelve Imams, the Fourteen

[1] I was unable to get the proof of Abraham's knowing only fourteen letters.
[2] See chapt. on Relationships for a reference to the history of this tradition, p. 214.

Innocents and the whole family of the Prophet who are in Bektashi thought epiphanies of God. As we shall see later, the total universe is revealed only in the whole body of man[1]; the face of man however, is sufficient to reveal both the elements out of which it was made and the special manifestations of God in the persons of the Holy Family. The following list shows how these appearances of God in persons and in letters are also paralleled in the face of man.[2]

Letter	*Person*	*Part of the Face*
elif	Ali	Being one light with Muhammad indicates the hair.
be	*Salih* the Innocent ..	Left side of the nose.
te	*Kasim* son of *Hüseyin* ..	The line between the right eye and the eyebrow.
se	*Abdullah* II	The line between the left eye and the eyebrow.
cim	*Imam Ali Riza*	One side of the left nostril.
ha	*Imam Şehidi Kerbela* (*Hüseyin*)	Right eye.
hı	Ali, the Innocent	Right cheek.
dal	*Imam Cafer Sadık* ..	Left Ear.
zal	*Fatma*, the mother of the martyrs	Right eyebrow.
re	*Hadice*, the mother of the Faithful	Left eyebrow.
ze	*Imam Mehdi*	Right ear
sin	*Imam Ali Naki*	Upper eyelash of left eye.
şin	*Imam Zeynulabidin* ..	Upper eyelash of right eye.
sad	*Muhammad Ekber*, son of Ali, (1st Innocent) ..	Right side of forehead.
dad	*Abdullah* the Innocent, son of *Hasan*	Left side of forehead.
tı	*Cafer* son of *Imam Taki*, (13th Innocent) ..	Space between right ear and the face.
zı	*Cafer the Innocent*, son of *Askerı*	Left lip.[3]
ayın	*Abdullah III* (5th Innocent)	Right cheek.[4]
gayın	*Imam Hasan*	Left eye.

[1] See Illus. No. 17.
[2] This list is taken from pages 1 and 2 of the writer's *Erk.* No. 4. For a similar list see Illus. No. 18.
[3] Perhaps the upper lip or space between lip and left side of face.
[4] This is repeated here, for it has already been assigned to the letter *hı*. Evidently it should be the left cheek.

fe	*Imam Bakir*, son of the oppressed	Lower eyelash of left eye.
kaf	*Imam Musa Kâzim* ..	Lower eyelash of right eye.
kef	The Innocent *Hüseyin*[1] ..	Space between the cheek and the right eye.
lam	*Kasim Sait* (6th Innocent)	Space between the cheek and the left eye.
mim	*Imam Hasan Askeri* ..	Side of the right nostril.
nun	*Yahya el Hadi*, the Innocent	Right side of the nose.
vav	*Kasim II*, the Innocent ..	Other lip (lower) or space between left side of lip and the face.
he	*Tayyib*, son of *Kâzim* ..	Line between the two lips and the face.
ye	*Imam Taki*	Mouth.
pe	Father Adam	Right moustache
çe	Noah the Prophet ..	Left beard.
je	*Ibrahim Halil*	Right beard.
nef	The Seal of the Prophets (Muhammad)	Left moustache.

A slight examination of this attempt literally to find in the face of man both the elements out of which the universe is created and also the personal manifestations of God in the Holy Family is sufficient to show that the difficulties have not been well smoothed out. It is obvious that this is a general application of the idea rather than one on which detailed importance is placed. The chart in Illustration No. 18 exemplifies the same idea; its variations from this list, though slight, prove that Bektashis have not regarded the details as sacred.

Hurufi literature as used by the Bektashis seems to indicate that the sect in its early days attempted to appeal to both Christians and Muhammadans, for on the basis of the Hurufi theory of numbers and letters an interpretation is given of doctrines familiar to Christians as well as Muhammadans. For example, the *Aşkname*,[2] which is represented to be a translation into Turkish of *Fazlullah's* own work in Persian, the *Cavidan*, made by *Firişte Oğlu*, in its second chapter tells of the coming of Jesus, who said that he came in fulfilment of the prophecies of earlier

[1] There is no such Innocent mentioned in either the Bektashi Texts of the *Erk*. No. 4, lists.

[2] At least two undated lithographed editions of this book have been printed in Turkey. The *Kâşif ul Esrar* says that one of these editions came out in 1288 (1871). A MS. copy of the *Aşkname* in the writer's possession dated 1272 (1855) differs considerably, especially in containing more material. There are 272 pages in the MS. copy, 164 pages in one lith. and 127 in the other.

prophets. "I came," Jesus is quoted as saying, "not to destroy the religion of God, but to fulfil it."[1] The *Aşkname* not only quotes the saying of Jesus that he is now going to the Father, and that the Father will send a Paraclete, but it even states that this is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of John's Gospel, "which is the most authentic Gospel," *ki asahh incildir.*[2] Both Jesus and the *ulema* and *şeyhs* are in agreement that this Paraclete is the Holy Spirit. The meaning of this, the *Aşkname* says, is Muhammad, the Apostle of God. After Jesus died, six hundred years passed by and Muhammad came to the world testifying that he was the Paraclete[3] promised by Jesus, and that after he died it would be necessary for Jesus to come again into the world. After Muhammad's death eight hundred years passed by and then came into the world the "Possessor of interpretation," *sahibi tevil,* who was recognized by those who belonged to the party of believers as the Jesus whom Muhammad had prophesied.

The first chapter of the *Aşkname* takes up the story of Joseph. The chapter by this name in the Kuran (Sure. 12) begins, as the two preceding chapters do, with the separate letters *elif, lam, re.* The real meaning of the chapter is in the true understanding of these letters. With the other letters similarly used in the Kuran at the beginnings of chapters, *kef, he, ye, ayın, sad, tı, sin, ha, mim, kaf,* and *nun* there are fourteen such. If these letters are spelt out in Arabic three additional letters become included, *dal* in the letter *sad, fe* in the letter *elif,* and *vav* in the letter *nun.* This number corresponds to the *farz rekât's,* or compulsory genuflections, in the *salat* or formal worship while in residence, called the *Salat* of *Hazar.*[4] There are, on the other hand, eleven *rekât's* a day required as *farz* for the *Salat* of travel, *salatus sefer,* and this number corresponds to the letters which are indicated with dots, *hurufu muteşabehat. Be, te, se, cim, hı, zal, ze, şin, dad, zı, gayın.*[5] If you add to this eleven the four additional Persian letters, *pe, çe, je,* and *nef* you get

[1] Matt. 5:17.

[2] MS. copy p. 15.

[3] The origin of this idea seems to be in an Arabic gospel attributed to St. Barnabas, where instead of Paraclete, "comforter," the word Periclyte, "famous" or "illustrious" has been inserted. In that meaning the Greek word might be translated by the word Muhammad. See Sale's *Koran,* Preface and Preliminary Discourse, Sec. IV.

[4] For the five prayers, two *rekât's* are *farz* for the morning prayer, four for noon, four for afternoon, four for evening and three for the sunset prayer.

[5] Compare this list with the list on page 84 in *J.R.A.S.,* Jan., 1898. In the above list the *kaf* is omitted; in the list as Browne gives it the *be* is omitted.

fifteen which is the number of *farz rekât's* in the *cuma* or Friday prayer. It is a knowledge of these letters and their hidden influence in causing worship to be ordained as it is that are the "dark sayings" referred to in Kuran 12:6, the interpretation of which God promised to teach Joseph. The wolf which Joseph's father feared (Kur. 12:13) is the state of not being aware of the divine lines in Joseph's face.

A very interesting illustration of the attempt to interpret the Old Testament from the Hurufi point of view is found in the sixth chapter of the *Aşkname* where Kuran 7:156 is quoted: "Whom they shall find described with them in the law." The next few pages go on to explain the Tabernacle of Meeting as described in Exodus 26. This tabernacle is the *Kible* or direction of prayer of Moses, and is a figurative reference to Moses. What are the fifty loops in one curtain, (Ex. 26:5) except the twenty-eight letters plus the twenty-two dots required to write these letters? The fact that there were eleven curtains (Ex. 26:7) is but a figurative reference to the eleven *rekât's* of the *Salatus Sefer*, and the length of each curtain being twenty-eight cubits (Ex. 26:2) is again a manifestation of the Divine Word, the same word which was revealed in Muhammad but only fully interpreted by *Fazlullah*.

One of the best statements of Hurufiism from the Bektashi point of view is in a small MS. book in the writer's possession.[1] It is dated 1287 (1870) and is signed by *El Hakir Hafız Esat Cakır* of the Family of the Mantle, the servant of *Seyit Mahmut Baba.*[2] Although the first pages are missing it is evident that the book begins with an attitude of reverent respect for Muhammad and all he taught. All things were created out of love for Muhammad. The book continues with the statement that God was especially addressing the Prophet in the isolated letters occurring at the beginning of various chapters of the Kuran. The letters *ye, sin*, for example, beginning the so-called *Yasin* chapter are really an address to Muhammad. The letter *ye* stands for the vocative exclamation *Ya* or *O*, and the letter *sin* stands for Muhammad. "O Muhammad thou art the wise kuran," "thou art of all the sent ones," "thou art upon a right path." Similarly with the letters *kef, he, ye, ayın, sad* which begin the nine-

[1] The following pages up to p. 158, because of their tiresome details, may well be skipped by any except the reader seriously bent on relating in detail Hurufi-Bektashi teaching to the practices of orthodox Islam.

[2] Probably the elder *Mahmut Baba* of *Şehitlik tekke* who died in 1277.

teenth chapter, each letter has a meaning. The *kef*, for example, stands for sufficient, *kâfi*; the *he* for *hadi*, guide, etc.

Having thus begun with the orthodox attitude of granting to Muhammad the supreme place, the book passes on to find in Ali the secret by which what was revealed to Muhammad is to be known. "Every book," Ali is quoted as saying, "has its secret, and the secret of the Kuran is in its first chapter, and the meaning of the first chapter is in the *Bismillah*, and the meaning of that is in the *be*, its first letter, and the meaning of that letter is in the dot which makes it *be* and I am that dot." The *Fatiha*, or first chapter of the Kuran is called the Mother of the Book because it has seven verses and twenty-one letters; when the sounds of these twenty-one letters are spelt out they involve twenty-nine letters and twenty-nine is the number of chapters which begin with independent letters. It was the function of Muhammad to bring down the word of God, and of Ali to interpret it.

Loyal to the idea of *Şeriat*, first the book asserts that one must be faithful to all the five pillars of Islam, then it proceeds to give their true meaning. First there is the confession of God's unity. Now, God's name has five Arabic letters, and when each letter is spelt out there are fourteen letters in all. The same is true of the word Muhammad. The two fourteens combined make twenty-eight which together make the Divine Word. The word, "testify," *eşhed* with which the formal confession of God's unity begins has four letters, thus making thirty-two which is the real essence of Reality, *hakkın zatı şerifi*. Thus it is seen that the numbers twenty-eight and thirty-two are always indications of the Divine Word. The words *la ilaha* when each letter is written out produce fourteen letters, as do also the words *ila llah*, together making twenty-eight. We have seen how Muhammad's name makes fourteen; the words *resul ullah* have fourteen letters in them, and so again twenty-eight is made. The orthodox *ulema* say the confession, but are ignorant of how the words really bear testimony to God.

In the second place there is the *Salat* or formal worship which is one of the five pillars of Islam. This is of three special kinds, the Worship of Residence, *salatu hazar*, which has seventeen required or *farz rekât's* in a day, the Prayer of Travel, *salatus sefer*, with eleven *rekât's*, and the Friday Prayer, *salatu cuma*, with fifteen *rekât's*. The seventeen *rekât's* of the Prayer of Residence are a reference to the fourteen different letters which

occur as letters at the beginning of chapters, *kelimei mukataât*, plus the letters *fe*, *dal*, and *vav* which occur when the letters *elif*, *sad* and *nun* are written out. The eleven *rekât's* of the *salatus sefer* are but the eleven letters that are written with dots, and the fifteen *rekât's* of the Friday Prayer are these same eleven letters *be*, *te*, *se*, *cim*, *hı*, *zal*, *ze*, *şin*, *dad*, *zı*, *gayın*, plus the four extra letters of the Persian alphabet. These fifteen *rekât's* plus the seventeen of the Prayer of Residence equal thirty-two which is the Uncreated Word of God.

The real meaning of the *Salat* can be worked out in still further detail. The three joints, for example, of a finger of the right hand standing for the three parts of the word of testimony plus the fourteen joints of the fingers of the left hand equal the seventeen *rekât's* of the Prayer of Residence and these together with the eleven of the Prayer of Travel make twenty-eight. All the details similarly show the divine revelation in terms of the numbers twenty-eight and thirty-two. The ablution involves thirty-two cleansings, each hand three times, the mouth, the nose, the face, each arm and each foot three times, the head once, each ear once and the neck twice. The seventeen words of the *Ezan* plus the eleven of the *ikamet* equal the twenty-eight letters found in the face of the Prophet. The essential thing in the *Salat* is this understanding of its real meaning and the believing that it represents the word of God.

The third pillar of Islam is the *Zekât* or alms. The giving of one tenth of one's income is in meaning the same thing as the extending of one of the ten fingers in sign of witnessing to the unity of God. The argument then follows closely the argument in connection with the *salat*. The three joints of the finger plus the fourteen of the left hand equal both the seventeen *unattached letters*, *kelimei mukataât*, and the seventeen *rekât's* of the Prayer of Residence.

The fourth pillar is fasting, *oruç*, for thirty days during the month of Ramazan. The twenty-eight and thirty-two letters are manifestations of God in accordance with which the thirty days of fasting are established.[1] The twelve *rekât salat* of *Ramazan* represents the twelve lines in the face of man, two eyebrows, four eyelashes, hair, two lines of the cheeks, i.e., the

[1] The reasoning on this the writer confesses he is unable to follow: "When the moon makes its journey in twenty-nine days, the new moon appearing on the thirtieth, this is in accordance with the twenty-eight Divine Letters. Whenever the moon completes thirty stages, *menzil*, the new moon appearing on the thirty-first day, this is in accordance with the Thirty-two Divine Letters."

side-whiskers, and the three of the lips, i.e., the moustache and the goatee. These combined with the total of sixty *rekât's* in a day during Ramazan equal seventy-two which is the value of the letters used in creation, *kef* (20) and nun (40)[1] plus two for their own number. Seventy-two is also the number of the constituent parts of the twenty-eight letters when they are spelt out in Arabic.

The final pillar is the *hacc* or pilgrimage to Mecca. Although the commandment to make this pilgrimage is accepted as obligatory it needs to be remembered that the real *Beytullah*, house of God, or *kible*, the direction of prayer, is the face of man. The whole procedure of the pilgrimage indicates, as in the case of the other pillars, that the real meaning is to be found in the numbers twenty-eight and thirty-two. For example, at Mecca one makes the *tawaf* or circumambulation of the *Kâbe*, fourteen times[2]; the *tawaf* or the *Umre*[3] pilgrimage is seven in number, and one must run seven times between *Safa* and *Merve*, thus totalling the sacred number of twenty-eight. The seven *tawafs* represent the seven mother lines, *hatti umm*,[4] which also stand for the seven verses of the *Fatiha*. The kissing of the Black Stone seven times is also a reference to the seven lines of Eve's face. The seven *tawafs* of *Umre* represent the seven lines of man's face, the (hair on the) two cheeks, on the lip, the two sides of the beard growing from the chin and the hair on the under lip.[5] The seven stones thrown at Satan at *Mina* stand for the seven "*Mother lines*" which Satan did not recognize and on account of which fact he was accursed. The seventy angels which every day do the *tawaf* about the House of God correspond to the seventy-two letters less the *kef* and *nun*.

In other words to go on the *Hacc* means to know the significance of the *Hacc*. To physically go on the Pilgrimage a hundred times is of no avail if there is no understanding of the fact that the *Hacc* depends on the twenty-eight and the thirty-two letters.

In ending, the book asserts, as the *Aşkname* does at the beginning, that Jesus said there would be one after him who would come from *Horasan* and bring to earth a knowledge of the science he had tried to teach. The Prophet of God said that

[1] The letters of the word "*Be*," with which God created the world.

[2] There are, for example, seven *tawafs* called *kudum*, performed on arrival, and seven called *veda*, performed on leaving.

[3] A minor pilgrimage to Mecca at any time of year.

[4] The *Mother lines* are the hair, the eyebrows, the four eyelashes, making seven in all.

[5] These seven lines or signs are usually called the "*Father lines*."

"the Tree of Knowledge is in Mecca and the Fruit of it in *Horasan.*" When his disciples asked for an explanation he said that the interpretation would come from *Horasan*. Those, the book says, who do not understand that the twenty-eight and thirty-two Divine Words are in the face and speech of Man, are counted as animals and devils, for it is on that account they did not bow down to Adam. The Face of Reality, *didarì hak* is covered with the twenty-eight and thirty-two letters and these are manifested in the face of man representing the Beauty of God and the form of the Merciful.

The line of argument followed in this book is thoroughly characteristic of the Hurufi-Bektashi point of view, and it serves to indicate the way in which this mystic combination of letters can be worked out in all departments of life. A favourite method of finding twenty-eight is to multiply any seven at which you may have arrived by four which is the number of elements.[1] My much esteemed friend in Tirana, Albania, to whom I am much indebted for an insight into the real significance this system has for the enthusiastic believer, ended his conversation with me one night by asking if I had ever figured out the numerical value of Yahweh's name. On my replying in the negative he wrote down :

ye	equals	10
he	equals	5
vav	equals	6
ye	equals	10
elif	equals	1
making a total of		32

The necessity for adding the *elif* only showed that that was the true and original spelling. It was truly impressive to witness the enthusiasm of my friend as he thus proved to me the truth of Hurufiism. Even God's name by which He called Himself is thirty-two.

The practical result of the Hurufi-Bektashi teaching is to give so exalted a position to man as the supreme revelation of God that he, man, is to be worshipped.

[1] The four elements are signs indicating the four extra Persian letters, the *Uyun ul Hidaye*, p. 14, says ; so that in the Kuran and always before *Fazlullah's* day, the thirty-two letters were to be found.

7. *The Bektashi Secret*

From the beginning of this study of Bektashiism reference has been made to the Bektashi Secret. Books have been written on the subject; articles have appeared again and again in magazines, all in an attempt to expose this famous secret. Before bringing to a close this chapter on the Doctrines and Beliefs of the order it will perhaps be well for us also to attempt to give our answer to this century-old mystery. It appears to be at least a three-fold one. Most important of all is its theological phase. God is viewed subjectively as experienced within. This has led in Bektashiism first to a practical apotheosis of man. The *Ismi Azam*, or greatest name of God, is even said to be Man. In the second place as a corollary of the foregoing it has led to a belief in special appearances of God in great men. Ali is the supreme example of this. A glance at the picture in Illustration No. 11 shows this conception of Ali presented in the form of a secret creed, so devised that no one but the initiated can read it.

In the second place, the secret is political, for Bektashis have been *Caferites*, believers in the Twelve Imams and deniers of the legitimate succession to the Caliphate of the first three Caliphs. We have seen in the story of the struggle of Selim against Ismail how important this phase of the secret was, causing the very heart of the Sultan's armed force to be in sympathy with the enemy. Among the Bektashis the doctrine of *teberrâ*, or undying enmity for all those who do not love the children of Ali, and especially for the family of Yezit, who was responsible for massacring so many, is most positively taught.

In the third place, the secret has been moral and social. Woman's place among Bektashis has been unique in Ottoman history. To her has been ascribed the dignity of personality equal with that of men. The seclusion of Bektashi tekkes at localities removed from other houses, has had as one of its reasons the fact of equal participation of men and women in its rites. Although this fact has undoubtedly opened the way for degraded practices on the part of the self-seeking and the insincere it has at its best been a secret of the order making possible within the Bektashi tekke, a social life nowhere else countenanced among Moslems in Ottoman days.

To these three phases of the secret should perhaps be added a fourth, the symbolic secret. The fact that the Bektashis used wine and *raki* has been generally known in Turkey perhaps

during their whole history. The meaning of their use of it, however, as a Bektashi Baba has assured me is "their secret." Signs they use to recognize each other, the use of special phrases in their conversation are all a part of the symbolic side of their secret. For example, it is said that when a Bektashi entered a room where there might or might not be another Bektashi it was the custom for the entering Bektashi to close the small and ring fingers of his right hand, then placing over his heart the remaining three fingers open with the thumb up he would bow slightly holding the position for a moment quickly gazing from one to another of those present to see if his gesture was returned. Since the hand placed over the heart was a usual custom accompanying the word "*merhaba*" as one entered and sat down in an assembly the position of the fingers would be likely to be noticed only by a Bektashi present. If there was no sign given in reply to show that there was a Bektashi present the new-comer might try another sign. With his right hand, fingers on one side and thumb on the other he would stroke his beard, or if without beard move his hand as if so stroking, and for a moment with fingers and thumb touching, let his hand rest just under his chin. On meeting, one Bektashi was said to greet another by touching his lips with his thumb then immediately lowering his hand to a position below his heart and a trifle on the left side, at the same time bowing his head for a few seconds. In shaking hands Bektashis were said to press the ends of their thumbs together, a sign that their hearts are attached to one another. In addition to these signs the Bektashis have expressions which are much used especially among themselves. Instead of saying "you" they say *Sultanım*, "my Sultan," or *Nazarım*, "my glance or my favour"; or Erenlerim, "my ones who have attained." Instead of the word "I" they said *Fakir*, or "the poor one," or *Nazarın*, "your glance or favour."[1]

A typical conversation between a visiting Bektashi efendi and his Baba might be like this, the visitor first having ceremoniously kissed the hand of the Baba:

Baba: *Aşk olsun erenler*, "May your reward be the Divine Love, O you have attained to the Real."

[1] These signs are described thus in Ziya Bey's articles in *Yeni Gün*, No. 14 Feb. 8, 1931. Other expressions used I have been told are for "No," *Hak vere*, "may God give it;" for "bring a light," *bir mercan getir*, literally, "bring a coral"; for "to give permission" *destur vermek*, used also in sense of "to give a diploma."

Efendi: *Aşkın cemal olsun,* " May your love be rewarded by the happiness of beholding the Divine Beauty."

Baba: *Kapıyi sırret,* " Make the door a mystery," but using the word *sırr* in the sense of shut, like the Greek word *μύστης* in its old etymological sense of *μύειν* " to shut the eyes."

Efendi: *Eyvallah imanım,* " Yes, by God, O my faith."

Baba: *Zilha Baci kalıbı dinlendirmiş* (or *haka yürümüş*) *ses geldi,* " Our sister Zilha has caused her body to have a rest (or she has walked to the Divine Reality) a voice (from her or about her) has come."

Efendi: *Himmeti hazır ola şahım,* " May her spiritual influence be ever present " implying that she was a saint, and so living in the spiritual world and able to give help to this world.

Thus we might continue with expressions taken from Bektashi ritual or used in a way which Bektashis recognize as their way of speaking.

While other orders permit the presence of visitors at their *zikrs* or assemblies of worship the *aynicem* of the Bektashi has been strictly secret. Had the order not maintained secrecy its life surely could not have been sustained in the midst of a political environment where the influence of the *ulema* was so strong that a determined ruler like Muhammad II was compelled, apparently against his will, to deliver into their hands to be burned alive teachers he had come, in part at least, to believe.[1]

[1] See above page 62. I am indebted to Dr. *Riza Tevfik Bey* of Syria for the general outline of the Bektashi Secret as given above, and for the statement that Man is regarded as the *Ismi Azam.* In the Third Word of the *Hutbetül Beyan* it seems to be stated that Ali's name is the *Ismi Azam.* The element of confusion at this point is quite characteristic of Bektashi theology, the elements of a systematic theology existing but the formulation of them into a consistent arrangement never having been accomplished.

Chapter IV

RITES AND PRACTICES

The student who is himself outside the ranks of Bektashi members may well approach with more than usual diffidence a study of Bektashi practices. When everything is secret it is little wonder if there are many points on which information is inadequate. As in the case of Bektashi Beliefs when it was stated that the difficulty of comprehensive study was increased by the lack of any formal agreement among themselves, even more here the developments of time and the lack of a close-knit organization with a unified control have resulted in variations of practice.

1. *Degrees*

There does, however, seem to be general agreement on the use of certain terms to describe what might be called degrees. On the fringe of Bektashiism, for example, stands the *aşık*. Literally meaning, "one who loves," technically it refers to one who is attracted by and feels a certain loyalty to Bektashi principles and practice but who has not actually taken the *nasip* [1] or initiation. In this sense the word may refer to interested inquirers who are in the process of being drawn into the order. They visit the tekke, talk with the Baba and regular members, perhaps listen to Bektashi music and the singing of Bektashi *nefes'es*. They are, in fact, candidates for full membership. The word may also be used to refer to members of the family of Bektashi members. Not themselves actually initiated they are, nevertheless, counted as members of the Bektashi community. Their babies are brought to the Babas for blessing. The Baba or *Dede* may even choose the name for the new baby. In time of trouble the Baba is consulted. On special days he is visited. The Bektashi Baba is, in fact, the pastor of a flock much larger than the bare limits of actual initiated membership would seem

[1] Literally meaning, "portion" or "share allotted" and hence "fate," the word *nasip* has general use among Bektashis in the sense of formal acceptance by the initiation rite of Bektashi teachings.

to suggest. In the case, for example, of the *Turan* tekke just outside *Korçe, Zylfo Baba* who is both the head of that tekke and also *Halife* presiding over a wider area, told me that there were about two hundred actual initiated members in his tekke, and that for each such there were many *aşık's*. As we left the tekke we passed a family group approaching the tekke and carrying a little baby evidently for a blessing from the Baba.

At almost every tekke there is at least one tomb, often more. These tombs are places of sacred visitation.[1] Not infrequently, especially among the more ignorant population, the Baba possesses books which aid him in the preparation of charms. Not only does the presence of a holy man buried there give efficacy, therefore, to the prayers of visitors but specific treatment is often given to individuals who consult the Baba regarding their particular ailment. We have already seen as an example of this, how in the home of one of the leading families of Albania a grain of wheat supposed to have been blessed by Haji Bektash himself was given to a mother from whom then, in answer to her prayer, a boy baby was born. People go in great crowds to visit sacred tombs. In the yard of one of the tekkes in Albania a drinking fountain had been erected shortly before our visit so that the crowds could quench their thirst from the constantly flowing stream before undertaking the half-hour walk back to the city. The vast majority of such visitors would be *aşık*, not formally initiated members. In the family where the writer was visiting the father and uncles had been regular members: but the mother and her two sons and their families, although not initiated, nor even interested as candidates for initiation, were still regarded in the capacity of *aşık's* as members of the Bektashi community.

The second degree[2] or stage of progress in Bektashiism is that of the *muhip*. With its literal meaning not greatly different from the word *aşık*, meaning " one who loves," or " an affectionate friend," its technical use is for one who has actually passed through the initiation rite, taken his *nasip* and is therefore qualified to sit in the formal ceremonies of the order. The ceremony by which one is made a *muhip* called the *Ikrarayını*,

[1] For the importance of graves see Hasluck's *Christ. and Islam*, page 250ff. For a classic story of how a holy tomb may gain reputation when only an animal is buried there see Brown's *Dervishes*, pp. 275-290, Rose, 308-322.

[2] From another point of view this might more properly be called the first degree since the *aşık* stage is really a preliminary condition of one still outside the order.

ceremony of Confession of Faith, or the *Aynicem*, ceremony of Assembly, will be later described in full. It is of the very nature of Bektashiism that this initiation is open to men and women alike. It is this freedom for social intercourse between the sexes that has always been a distinguishing characteristic of the order. It is perhaps inevitable that Babas eager to have their tekkes grow in membership and influence should at times fall into the temptation of relaxing their standards and admitting as *muhips* those who come only for the social life which is forbidden by universal custom outside. It is also perfectly easy to see how any basis of this kind for scandal would be magnified by those leaders outside who not only are shocked at the secret taking down of social barriers but also made deeply indignant by the indifference to orthodox ritual and by the obvious theological heresy of the Bektashi order. When the Bektashis, therefore, are attacked for their indifference to the moral law it is never easy to distinguish between the possible abuse in actual practice, and the malicious gossip of those outside who are naturally in bitter opposition.[1]

The third degree is that of "dervish." This involves a further commitment of self to following professionally the religious life. On going through the necessary ceremony, often called the *vakfı vucut*,[2] or dedication of body or existence, the dervish may then wear the official *tac* or headpiece of the order, and not infrequently he makes his home in the tekke, serving the Baba. Sometimes it is said a *muhip* may serve in the tekke for ten or more years before he is admitted as a dervish. It is not a fixed time or a formal standard by which a *muhip* may qualify as a dervish. It is rather a case of a disciple's sitting at the feet of his teacher; a *mürit*, making spiritual progress under the authority of his *mürşit*, bound to give obedience to that *mürşit* and patiently awaiting the day when he may be advanced to a more intimate relationship with the order.

Perhaps not a fourth degree, rather a special step sometimes accompanying this degree of "dervish," is the *mücerret ayını* or rite by which one is made into a celibate dervish. We have already seen that Bektashiism possesses both a married and a celibate branch. Supposed to have been introduced by *Balım Sultan* about 1400 this celibate branch has continued down to

[1] See bibliography p. 278 for a list of attacks that have been printed about the Bektashis.

[2] This ceremony is not an elaborate one with formal ritual like the *aynicem*. It consists rather of a simple blessing.

to-day, and has been particularly strong in Albania. The outstanding characteristic of the ceremony by which one becomes a celibate dervish has been, in the past, the boring of the ear of the candidate on the threshold of the *Balım Evi*, House of *Balım*, at the central tekke in Haji Bektash Village. Since the abolition of dervish orders in the progressive Republic of Turkey, this ceremony is now performed, I am informed, at the tekke of the *Dede* in Tirana, Albania. In token of having taken the vows of a celibate, *mücerret*, the dervish is entitled afterwards to wear in his ear a horse-shoe-shaped earring known as a *menguş*, said to be so shaped in memory of the horse-shoe of Ali.[1]

The fourth degree is that of Baba. By a special ceremony, a copy of the ritual of which the writer has not found, a dervish deemed worthy is elevated to the position of Baba,[2] in which rank he is the head of a tekke, *mürşit* to the seekers who ask for instruction and initiation, and pastor to the wider flock of those in families and among friends who look to the Bektashi Baba as friend and priest and adviser.

To become a Baba a dervish may be either married or celibate. In the case of the married Babas a son not infrequently succeeded to the position of the father, and both the tekke building and the grounds round about it often were the property of the hereditary Baba. It is the duty of the Baba, as we have noted, to act as pastor on behalf of the members of his tekke and their families. Legal disputes he was expected to settle, for Bektashis were not supposed to resort to litigation against each other. Marriage and funeral ceremonies were a part also of the Baba's duties. In case of pecuniary need on the part of any member it was the duty of the Baba to organize among members the necessary relief.[3]

A further rank in Bektashiism, not so much comparable to degrees as such are known in an American secret lodge as to the chairs through which an officer goes, is the rank of *Halife*. Liter-

[1] Rose, 184, 198. In Albania of the two score or more of *mücerret* dervishes I met I saw this earring only once. It appeared to be of silver, an inch and a half or two inches long, and was heavy enough to pull the ear down markedly. The other celibates all wore in place of this a small, round brown earring. One Baba, *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan, when he dressed up in his full robes wore an earring containing a red stone, oblong in shape with corners cut off, and bearing the names of the Twelve Imams and of Allah, Muhammad and Fatma. The *menguş* he said, was usually worn only on formal occasions. See Illustrations 2 and 19 for pictures of *Cemalı Baba* in his robes.

[2] See Illus. No. 29 for a reproduction with translation of a Baba's certificate of rank.

[3] See *Ziya Bey's* article No. 12 in *Yeni Gün*, Feb. 6, 1931.

ally meaning "successor" the *Halife* is doubtless in remembrance of those *halife's* sent out by Haji Bektash toward the end of the thirteenth century. Both in Turkey, before all such orders were abolished, and in Albania to-day, the *Halife* performs an office similar to that of Bishop or district superintendent. He ordains Babas and exercises a supervisory relationship over all the work of the order in his district.

Finally at the top there has been the *Dede*, formerly residing in the central tekke at Haji Bektash Village, now living in the head tekke of the order at Tirana, Albania and appointed to that position by the King of Albania.[1]

2. *Devotional Practices*

(*a*) *Ibadet*

It is said that in the tekke there is a service of worship both morning and evening in which those living in the tekke participate. Presumably this is a very short service, and in all probability varies in different tekkes. To his regret the writer has been unable to find any authoritative information about the details of this group worship in the tekke.

(*b*) *Gülbenk and Terceman*

These two words, the first meaning originally "a loud shout," and the second, "that which interprets," are names given to ritual prayers or recitals. The exact distinction between them is not easy to discern. *Yusuf Ziya Bey* writing about the *Tahtacıs* in the Journal of the Theological Faculty[2] seems to indicate that a recital may sometimes be called by one name and sometimes by the other. A former Bektashi Baba once attempted to describe the difference to me but showed there was confusion in his own mind. The true distinction appears to be, as was explained to me by a learned Bektashi in Tirana, that a *Gülbenk*, as its original meaning would indicate, is a congregational prayer said in unison by the group present. Such a prayer on occasion might be recited by only one person,

[1] Rregullore e Bektashijvet Shiiptare, Tirane 1930, Art. 27. In Albania to-day a Baba is elected by the members of a tekke from a list of candidates proposed by the *Halife*. The decree designating him as Baba is issued by the *Dede*. Rregullore, Art. 22. *Muhip's* who have rendered distinguished service to the order may in Albania to-day have conferred upon them by the *Dede* honorary titles corresponding to the words Dervish, Baba, or *Halife* (art. 9). Of course in Albania Albanian words are substituted for these Turkish words.

[2] Fifth Year, No. 20, p. 62.

but would still be a *Gülbenk* since in its nature it is intended for worship in unison. The *Terceman*, on the other hand, is a special prayer to be recited by one holding a definite office, *makam*, in the formal rite. The *mürşit* and the *rehber*, for example, in the *Aynicem* ceremony recite words which belong to their position and which are interpretative of the spiritual significance of the situation. Even though in theory, however, this be the correct distinction the fact in practice seems to be that Bektashis themselves use the terms somewhat interchangeably.[1] Frequently, as in the *Aynicem* ritual as given in *Erk.* 3 and 4, the word *Gülbenk* is used of recitals by the Baba and *terceman* of recitals by the *rehber* and other officers.

The following are examples of these prayers:

(*c*) *Table Blessings*[2]

"In the name of the Prince. At the beginning let us say Allah. Let us say, Eternal God. The table of Ali has come. Let us say: Permission, O Prince, Let the Prince give. Let us eat. For his reign, his kindness *Hu*." *Bismi Şah evel Allah diyelim kadim Allah diyelim Geldi Ali sofrası destur Ya Şah diyelim, Şah versin biz yiyelim Şah demine keremine hu.*

The word "Hu" with which this prayer ends, in customary pronouncing is held for two or three seconds. It is a characteristic expression literally meaning "he," but used apparently as both an expression of adoration and of intercession. "Let us say *Hu* for, or on behalf of, or in gratitude for the *dem* of those who have attained" is one of the most common expressions among Bektashis. *Dem* which may mean "wine" or "breath" or "time" here apparently means "time" in the sense of the period of control or reign of the person or persons for whom the blessing is being invoked.

Another Table Blessing[3]: (Used apparently following the meal.)

"Allah, Allah, Except Allah. This has gone; may a richer one come. May the Divine Reality give blessings. Let there be light for those who have eaten. May the true *Erenler*[4] be the helper of the poor dervish who cooked and kept (the meal)

[1] In the writer's *Erk.* No. 4, all the prayers are called *Terceman's*.

[2] This prayer in *Erk.* No. 4, is called *Tercemanı Sofra*. Practically the same prayer occurs in *Besim Atalay's Bek. ve Edebiyatı*, p. 8, and is there called *Lokma Gülbenki*.

[3] *Besim Atalay's Bek. ve Edeb.*, 9. An almost identical prayer called *Tercemanı Taam* is on p. 7 of *Erk.* No. 4.

[4] Those who have attained.

and may they be our helper. May our rations from the door or happiness of our lords, the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents, be rich. Let us say *Hu* for the reign, the rotation of the Light of the Prophet, the Grace, *kerem*, of Ali, our Patron Saint Haji Bektash Veli, all the Patron Saints, and the generous ones, the true *Erenler, hu.*"

(*d*) *Morning and Evening Prayer*[1]

"In the name of the Prince, Allah, Allah. May the mornings be prosperous; may benefits be victorious; may evils be warded off; may unbelievers be defeated; may hypocrites be ruined; may enemies be subdued; may the believers attain their wishes; may friends be happy (and) cheerful; may their prayers be accepted, their desires attained. May God, Muhammad Ali be our intercessor, our lords the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents, the martyrs of Kerbela every moment be our helpers, may no one separate us from their faces, their trains (of followers); and may our lord the Patron Saint be our guard and our helper; may the beneficial protection of our lords, all the illustrious saints, be upon us, with us and watching over us, present and absent; may the Light of the Prophet, the Grace of Ali, the breath of Haji Bektash Veli be shame for the unbeliever, and curse for Yezit, mercy for the believer; For the reign of the true *Erenler*, and for the reign and the Grace of our Lord, my *Mürşit Baba, hu.*

Sabah ve Akşam Tercemanı:

Bismi Şah Allah Allah sabahlar hayır ola; hayırlar feth ola; şerler def ola; münkirler mat ola; munafıklar berbat ola; düşmanlar kahır ola; müminler bermurat ola; dostlar şâdu handan ola: niyazlar kabul ola; muratlar hasil ola; er hak Muhammet Ali, şafimiz ola; on iki imam, on dört masumu pak, şuhedai kerbela efendilerimiz her anda mu'inimiz ola; didarlarından, ve katarlarından ayırmıya; ve hazreti pir efendimiz gözçümüz ve destgirimiz ola; haziran, Gaiban cemi evliyai keram efendilerimizin hayır himmetleri üzerimize hazır, nazır ola; nuru nebi, keremi Ali, demi pir hazreti Hünkâr Haci Bektash Veli yuf münkire, lanet Yezide, rahmet mümine gerçek erenler demine ve mürşidim baba efendimizin keremine demine hu.

Reference has already been made to the prayer called *Nadi Ali*. It is said that all branches of the Bektashis, including the village Kizilbash and related groups know this prayer and recite it in moments of any kind of distress.[2]

[1] *Erk* No. 4, p. 5.
[2] See *Besim Atalay's Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı*, p. 25. For the prayer itself see above page 138.

(e) New Years and Muharrem

In addition to such prayers which are recited on the appropriate occasions there are special seasons when special services are held. The two chief occasions for such gatherings are New Year's Day, observed on the ninth of March, and treated as the birthday of Ali when a long and special praise-service is held, and the tenth day of Muharrem when the death of *Hüseyin* is remembered. A full translation of such prayers as have fallen into the writer's hand of those said on New Year's Day is given below. For the keeping of Muharrem the writer has been unable to find any complete ritual. It is certain that Bektashis during the first ten days of Muharrem devote time to the reading of the *Hadikatüssüada*; the more pious and devoted among them fast during these ten days. From the evening of the ninth day until the afternoon of the tenth they remember *Hüseyin's* suffering by drinking no water.[1] Then they sometimes break their fast by drinking water which contains dust taken from the soil near the tomb of *Hüseyin* in Kerbela.[2]

On the evening of the tenth day there is a ceremony sometimes called *Aşure Merasimi.*[3] In preparation the inhabitants of the tekke have been busy for several days gathering wheat, hazel-nuts, raisins, almonds, dates and other ingredients needed for the making of the *Aşure*. On the evening itself members gather, and while dirges in memory of *Hüseyin* are being sung the food is cooked in the great *Kazan*, the Baba in authority first stirring with a great spoon, and then in order of rank all present taking their turn. Toward morning the *kazan* is ceremoniously lowered from the fire. All gather around it, as one with a good voice sings a hymn in memory of *Hüseyin*. The

[1] Hasluck, 559.

[2] In the writer's possession is a tablet called a *Secde taşı*, said to be moulded out of the dust of Kerbela. The Baba who sold this to me, pointed out that from the back edge a portion had been scraped away. The dust so scraped off, he said, is often put in the water first drunk after the fast of Muharrem. The dust is similarly used, of course only by the more credulous, not by the educated, in case of stomach or other internal trouble for which this earth is thought to be especially efficacious. In *The Shi'ite Religion* by Donaldson, page 90, it is said that "the clay from the sacred area around the tomb of Imam Husain has healing properties—for one square mile from the tomb the clay is efficacious." See Donaldson, p. 277 for an account of the origin of the custom of mourning during the first ten days of Muharrem. For the *Secde Taşı*, see Illus. No. 10, art. No. 15.

[3] "Ceremony of eating *Aşure*." *Aşure* is a special food eaten by dervishes of all orders on the tenth day of Muharrem. The word comes from the Arabic word for tenth.

Baba recites a prayer, and then distributes the food to all present. In groups they sit about and eat it. [1]

(*f*) *Service of Repentance*

A rather obscure service called *Baş okutması* or *Baş Okumak*, Reading the Head, about which the writer has been able to learn very little is said to take place in the month of Muharrem. One baba told me that some time after the twelfth of Muharrem every dervish is required to go to the Baba for *Baş okutması*. More than that, however, he was unwilling to tell me. According to another Baba this ceremony is one in which the individual dervish goes before his leader holding in his hand the *arakiye* or initiation cap and the *tiğ-bent*, initiation belt. Doing a *niyaz* or ritualistic prostration before the *mürşit* he has the *arakiye* and *tiğ-bent* again put on him by the *mürşit* in response to his prayer for forgiveness of his sins. This is said to be a service of repentance and renewal of consecration. According to *Baha Sait*, (*Türk Yurdu*, No. 23, p. 411) the *Baş Okutmak* service among the Kizilbash takes place, accompanied by an annual sacrifice, every year for three years; after that the *talip* or Seeker becomes a real member of the group and is entitled to be called an *Eren*, one who has attained.

A somewhat similar service is described by *Ziya Bey* (*Yeni Gün*, No. 20) under the name *Mağfireti zünüp*, "forgiveness of sins." At a service held once a year members who have something on their consciences are invited to come to the *Dar*, and there recite this invitation to bring accusation: "God, God, myself in the *Dar*, my face on the ground, on the Gallows, *dar*, of *Mansur*, in the assembly of Muhammad Ali, in the presence of the Divine Reality—my soul a sacrifice, my flesh a prayer, *tercuman*—someone has been hurt by the hand or the tongue of the Poor One. If there is a brother soul who has been hurt let him come, let him speak."

Usually there is no reply from the brothers gathered around, this indirect confession being accepted as sufficient apology. If, however, one does come forward to bring charge the Baba considers the evidence and declares the penalty which is usually a cash fine. In case of a serious offence a punishment of expiation by travel to Mekka, Kerbela or Nejef may be ordered, and for the most serious penalty of all *düskünlük*, or excommuni-

[1] See *Ziya Bey's* account, *Yeni Gün* No. 21. *Bektaşı Ilmi Hal*, pp. 27 and 28 also describes the same service.

cation, is imposed. A Bektashi is anxious at all costs to remove this ban, for until it is raised he is as one dead in the view of his companions.

The ceremony of "cleansing of sins," *tathiri zünüp*, having been completed the stringed instruments are brought forth, *nefes'es* are sung, a sheep is sacrificed and cooked, and the service thus continues until morning.[1]

3. *Marriage and Funeral Customs*

Little of an authentic nature has fallen into the writer's hands illustrating these customs. It is, of course, the custom to use on such occasions the service of a Bektashi Baba rather than the Sunni hoja. It is said that among Bektashis a man and his wife cannot take the *nasip* or initiation rite from the same Baba. Each initiate is considered the "child of the way" of the Baba who acts as *mürşit* in the initiation. Therefore men and women who have received their initiation from the same Baba, being considered literally as brother and sister, cannot become united in marriage. A visiting Baba is, therefore, used if a man and his wife are to enter so that each may be the "child" of a different *mürşit*.[2]

In a treatise on Bektashi Beliefs and Practices written originally in Albanian by Naim Bey Frasheri it is said that the following prayer is said at feasts and marriages[3]: "Great an! True Lord, give and multiply Thy favour to mankind. Send not upon us grief and misery. Grant to us all good things. Show us the way of Righteousness, and leave us not in darkness. Blessed be Thy name now and for evermore, Lord Mohammed Ali! Kadije! Fatma! Hasan and Husain! Haji Bektash Veli! All ye saints! May our prayers come before you."

At betrothals according to the same treatise the following prayer is said: "True Lord, at Thy command and in Thy name! Grant concord and love, give us Thy blessing, and deliver us from evil. Grant us plenty and all good things. In the name of David and Solomon, in the name of Aaron and

[1] In a little printed book called *Bektaşı Ilmi Hal*, Istanbul 1925, there is an account of a service which combined the features of the *Aynicem* and the *Mağfireti Zünüp*.

[2] *Türk Yurdu* No. 23, p. 406.

[3] Hasluck, 560. The treatise translated by Hasluck needs to be treated with some care for it is quite obviously something prepared for those outside the order. The same treatise is in German in Balkan-Archiv. Forsetzung Des Jahresberichetes, Des Instituts Fin Rumanische Sprache von Prof. Dr. Gustav Weigand II Band.

Moses, and of Husain, in the name of Haji Bektash Veli, in the name of all our Lords! In the Way of Mohammed Ali, in the teaching of Imam Jafer Sadik!" At marriages these words are said to be added: "Unite them as thou didst unite Adam and Eve, Mohammed and Kadije, Ali and Fatma. Grant them life and length of days, and good and obedient children. May the door be open for ever, etc., etc."

At deaths Naim Bey's treatise says they pray thus: "Lord, great and true, Thou buriest day in night and night in day. Thou leadest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living. All things come from Thee and return unto Thee again. Forgive the sins of mankind for Thy glory's sake! And lead us to the Light, for Thou art the Light of Light. May our prayer come before Thee eternally, etc., etc."

On the inside cover of a Bektashi Baba's private notebook in the writer's possession is the following prayer entitled, "General prayer for the funeral *namaz*."[1] It is in Arabic, largely quotations from the Kuran and runs as follows: "O God, be forgiving to us and to this one who has died and to all the male believers and the female believers. 'Our sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent protector,'[2] and an excellent director (*muvelli*) and an excellent helper. 'Thy mercy, Lord, for unto Thee is the return.'[3] 'Every soul shall taste of death.'[4] Then 'they shall return to us.'"[5]

4. *Taboos*

There are several customs among the Bektashis that reflect mysterious attitudes which they perhaps themselves do not understand in their origin and full significance. Although the writer has had a Bektashi Baba deny there is anything in it at all, the fact nevertheless remains that it is almost universally the custom for Bektashis to avoid eating, touching or having anything to do with the hare. In taking a walk across country they will often turn back and go around rather than continue if a hare crosses their path. The origin of this seems thoroughly obscure. Degrand in his "Souvenirs de la Haute Albaine"[6] gives several theories that were suggested to him as explanations. One was that Guyauya Mavi, the scribe of the Prophet had a

[1] *Erk.*, No. 4. [2] Kur. 3 : 167. [3] Kur. 2 : 285.
[4] Kur. 3 : 182. [5] Kur. 21 : 93.
[6] An interesting, but quite uncritical book, telling of personal contacts with Bektashis as the author was weather-bound among them.

cat which was turned into a hare. Another explanation was that a certain dervish had an old wife who wiped up a soiled spot with a veil, then hid the veil in a tree. Curious neighbours who had observed her do this looked in the tree to discover what was hidden, and a hare jumped out, leaving the veil without spot. One of the best students of Turkish religious orders, himself, however, not a Bektashi, gave the explanation that in boiling a hare there is little but blood to be found, and consequently the animal is associated with Yezit who was responsible for the murder of *Hüseyin*. Brailford in his "Macedonia"[1] says that the soul of the murderer of *Hüseyin* entered into a hare, and therefore every Bektashi views a hare with horror.[2]

Among certain of the village groups related to the Bektashis the bear also was taboo. *Besim Atalay* in his *Bektaşilik ve Edebivatı* asserts that this is true of the Tahtajis who will not even use the word for bear, instead saying the "big son," *koca oğlan*, or "that which is on the mountain," *dağdaki*. They refuse even to touch a bear's skin.[3] This is evidently an inheritance from Shamanism for among the Altai Tatars the malevolent God "*Erlik*" was sometimes represented as a bear.[4]

Besim Atalay also reports a curious aversion to ever leaving a spoon on the table with the bowl opened upward. Instead, as if to cover its fate, it is always laid face down.[5]

The chief taboo, however, arising not from a feeling of aversion but of reverence, is the threshold. A Bektashi does not step on the threshold of a door. One explanation of this as it is made to fit in with other Bektashi beliefs is that since Ali is the Gateway or Door of the City of Knowledge any doorway

[1] Page 246. No. 1.

[2] That the hare was not taboo among the Asiatic Mongols from whom apparently the Bektashis inherited their reverence for the threshold, is indicated by the story of Jengiz Han and his return home in 621 (1224) as told in the *History of Müneccim Başi* II, 680. The two sons of Tuluy, Kublay and Hulagu, the former ten years old and the other nine, went out on the road to welcome their grandfather. While he was coming Kublay killed a hare and Hulagu a gazelle, both of which were offered as gifts to Jengiz Han who was delighted with the presents, caressed the lads and held a feast lasting many days. There is no indication in the story that a hare was not as acceptable game as any other animal. On several occasions pictures of hares have been used on coins by rulers of races related to the Turks. Cf. coins No. 14 and 15 in *Müzei Hümayun Katalogu* III, coins minted by *Hulagu* of the *Ilhan* dynasty. It has been claimed that this hare is in memory of the hare given his grandfather on the latter's return. Coin No. 37 minted by *Keyhatu* also bears the picture of a hare.

[3] Page 13.

[4] Czaplicka's *The Turks of Central Asia in History and the Present Day*, Oxford Press, 1918, page 30.

[5] *Bek. ve Edebiyatı*, p. 12.

is symbolic of Ali's spiritual significance in life. One side of the door is said to represent *Hasan*, the other side *Hüseyin*; the top stands for Muhammad and the bottom threshold for *Fatma*. It is said that as a Bektashi goes out of a door having, according to old Turkish custom, left his shoes or slippers there, he will not put his feet in his shoes with the shoes at right angles to the threshold. Instead he will, with his hand or foot, turn the shoes so that they are parallel to the threshold, and then put his feet in them.

The true origin of the reverence for the threshold, however, seems to be lost in the uncertainties of ancestral life in Central Asia. Among the Mongols generally there was this same attitude carried to the most extreme degree. In the Journal of Friar William, who between the years 1253 and 1255 went on an embassage from the Pope to the court of Sartach, commander of Tartar troops in Russia, there is the following statement[1]: "They warned us to take heed that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the threshold of the house." Later at the court of Mangu he writes[2]: "When we found ourselves in the presence of the Khan we were warned in advance not to touch the threshold. However, when we were outside, my companion, while following us, turned toward the Khan to bow to him and hit by accident the threshold of the house; and as we were hastening to reach the home of Battu, his son, those who were charged to guard the threshold seized my companion and prevented him from following us: they called someone to take him to the house of Bulgai, who is the First Secretary of the court and who condemns the guilty to death. Then my companion was brought in, and the Monk reproached him severely for having touched the threshold. The next day, Bulgai arrived, the great judge, and he made close inquiries whether anyone had warned us not to touch the threshold, and I answered: 'My Lord, we had no interpreter with us; how could we understand': So he pardoned him, but never again was he allowed to enter a house of the Khan."

ILLUSTRATION No. 1 shows the view from the Melchan tekke near Korche in Albania. It gives a suggestion both of the characteristic isolation from other habitations, and also of the surpassing beauty of the scenery in the midst of which the tekke is located. See also Illus. Nos. 21 and 22.

[1] Contemporaries of Marco Polo, p. 89.
[2] Ibid, p. 144.

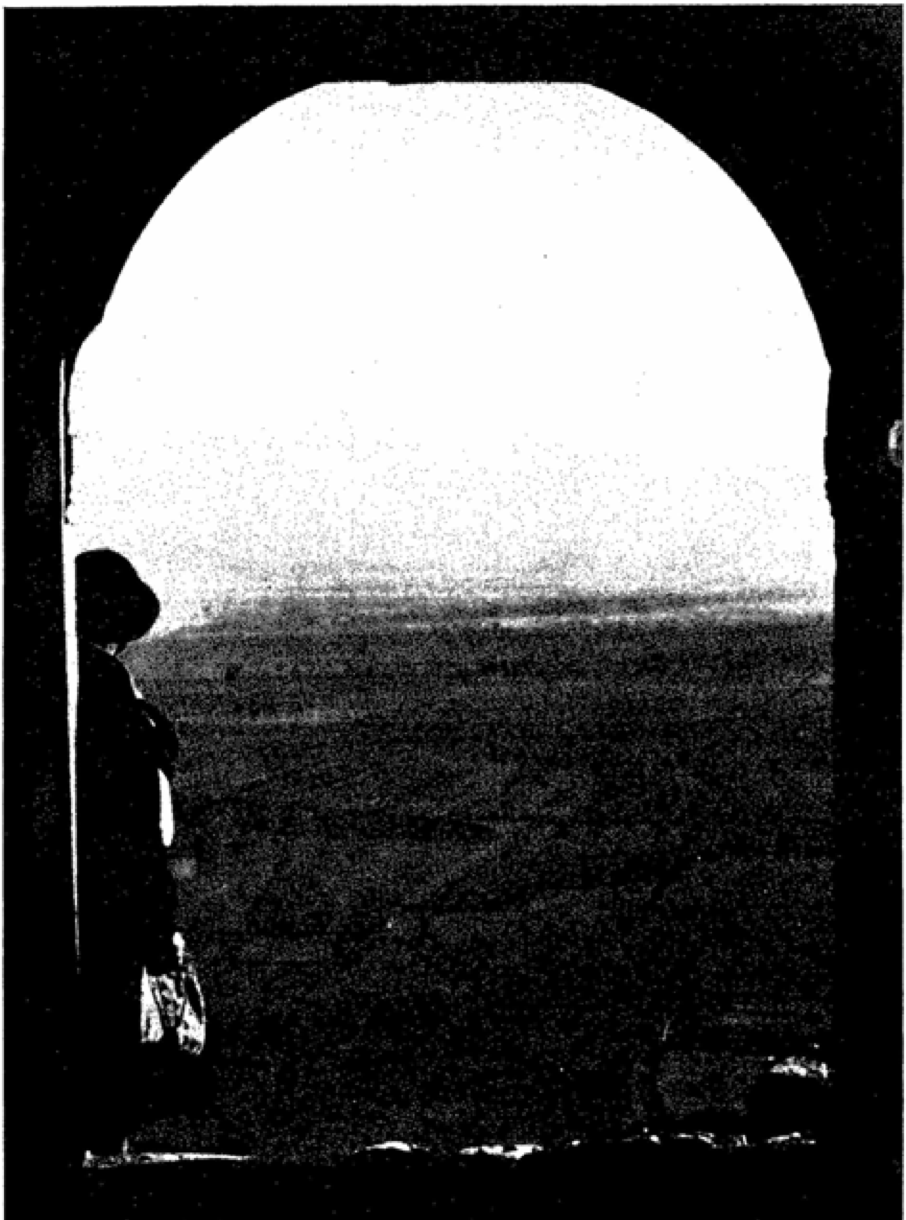


Illustration No 1

[Facing page 174

5. *The Ceremony of Initiation*

Ikrar Ayını or Aynicem

In order to get a clear understanding of the *Aynicem* which is the most important ceremony of the Bektashis it will perhaps be well to pause, and picture in our minds the tekke or lodge building where this gathering is held.

With few, if any, exceptions this building is located on the edge of a town, or more often at a very considerable distance from the town or from other houses. Very often it is built at an isolated spot raised above the country round about and therefore presenting a view of great beauty. In Constantinople, the *Şehitlik tekke* at Rumeli Hisar, the *Çamlıca tekke* on the slopes of the hill by that name east of Scutari and the *Kar Yağdı tekke* above Eyüp looking down the Golden Horn are characteristic tekkes in this respect. The Melchan tekke built on the top of a high hill across the plain from Korche is another example. Tekkes thus located offer a double advantage. For purposes of meditation, for contemplation of the beauties of nature, such tekkes are perfectly adapted. It is easy to sit in the garden of such a worship centre, or even in the garden of one located among vineyards and fields on a level plain, and looking round about see only that which suggests God and His creative work revealing Himself. The location apart from other houses seems also to give that element of isolation so necessary to the preservation of the "secret" on which the Bektashi order is built.

The tekkes vary from each other in size and elaborateness, but in general can be found to have four parts, often in separate buildings.[1] First, there is the Guest House, *Mihman Evi*. Consisting of one room or more this is both a place to receive guests on visits, and to put them up overnight. Second, there is the kitchen, *Aş Evi*. Important in connection with their ritual this sometimes has a kettle of gigantic proportions. In the House of the Patron Saint at Haji Bektash Village there was a large kettle called the Black Kettle, *Kara Kazan*, which was treated with the reverence due something sacred. In the new tekke of the Dede at Tirana a similar large kettle made of copper has recently been persented this head tekke by the

[1] See *Ziya Bey's* articles *Bektaşilik* in *Yeni Gün* No. 13, Feb. 7, 1931. For a description of these four houses in the tekke of the Patron Saint, see *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2nd. vol. pp. 370-374. For detailed study of particular Bektashi centres see Wulzinger's Drei Bektashi-Klöster Phrygiens, Berlin 1913, and Menzel's article Das Bektashi-Kloster Sejjid-i-Ghazi in Mitteilungen des Orientalischen Seminars XXVIII 1925, pp. 92-125.

famous *Kaygusuz Tekke* in Cairo.[1] Such kettles are usually used only to cook food on special occasions such as the Ceremony of Muharrem and of New Years. Third, there is the Bakery, *Ekmek Evi* which is not only the place where bread is made but serves also as the quarters for the women. And finally, there is the Lodge Room, *Meydan Evi*; which, of course, is the most important of all, for it is in this larger hall that the official ceremonies of the order take place.

ILLUSTRATION No. 2 shows *Selman Cemalı Baba* and a dervish in the *Meydan*, or ritual hall. The Baba and his dervish are sitting on typical *post's* or sheep-skins. The steps form the Throne of Muhammad; a small figure of the *Hüseyini tac* on top (see Illus. No. 10, Art. 13), surrounded by candles, representing the souls of the Twelve Imams and of those present; in the midst a *Kanun Çırağı*, or candle shaped like the *tac* with three wicks. On the bottom step are the incense holder and rose-water sprinkler. In front is the *meydan taşı* with a small oval stone called the *Kanaat taşı* or "stone of contentment" lying on top. On the walls hang characteristic pictures, two *teslim tası's*, a *palihenk* and a *cilbent*. (Illus. No. 10, Arts. 4 and 8, and Illus. No. 20.) To the right of the Throne is a sheep-skin bearing a covered *tac*. This is the *Gaip Postu*.

In order to understand the detailed account of the *Aynicem*,[2] or principal ritual service of the Bektashis, it will be necessary to describe as fully as possible the appearance of this hall of

[1] This tekke is so beautifully located in the Makattam Hills near Cairo that travellers to that city miss one of the beauty spots of Egypt if they fail to make a visit there.

[2] The meaning of this word is a matter of dispute. It is composed of two words, the Arabic word *Ayın* meaning ceremony or rite, and the word *cem* on the meaning of which the difference turns. *Erk.* No. 3 spells it *cim, mim, ayın*, which would make it an Arabic word meaning "a bringing together," "a group" or "meeting." *Erk.* No. 2 and 4 and Bektashi Texts spell it simply *cim, mim*, in which case it could mean one of two things. It might be the Persian word *cem* which is a shortened form of the name of the fourth legendary king of the Pishdadiyan Dynasty of Persia, Jemshid, to whom is traditionally attributed both the invention of wine and the celebration of New Year's Day, *Nevruz* (*Kamus ul Âlâm*). *Ziya Bey* takes it in this sense. (*Yeni Gün* Articles, No. 21, Feb. 15, 1931). The *aynicem* he says is an old ceremony related to Jemshid. Evidently the drinking of raki is the basis for this connection. The *Kamus ul Âlâm* says the words *Ayni Cem* were used of an ancient ceremony before Zoroaster's day. On the other hand, *Bay Hüseyin Pektaş*, one of the most competent scholars in Turkey, himself familiar from childhood with the customs inside the Bektashi tekke, assured me that the meaning is quite different. He would derive it from the Arabic word *cemm* used in both Turkish and Persian in the sense of a "crowd of people." Originally meaning "to be in a state of being abundant," it has come to have the idea in it of a "concourse," "a multitude of people," (Redhouse, Zenker). The reference in this case is fundamentally not to drinking but to the presence of many people gathered together.



ILLUSTRATION NO. 2

[Facing page 176

worship, called *Meydan Evi*; *Ibadet Meydanı*, hall or place of worship; or *Erenler Meydanı*, the hall or place of those who have attained; or *Kırklar Meydanı*, place of the Forty. As we have so often had occasion to point out with respect to other phases of Bektashi life and practice, here also there is a disconcerting lack of uniformity. The writer has before him one photograph and three plans of this *meydan*, all differing from each other. Of the six or more *meydan's* he has had opportunity to examine no two have been exactly alike. It will be necessary therefore to seek to discover those features which are universal or at least generally present, and then to indicate the other features that vary in different *meydan's*. The *meydan* is always oblong in shape, usually about thirty feet by twenty.[1] At one end, often at the side, is the entrance door with its threshold, *eşik*, over which all step on entering. At the opposite end is a small throne consisting of three steps, holding twelve or more candles. This throne is commonly called the "Throne of Muhammad," *tahtı Muhammet*, or simply the "place of the candles," *çırağlık*. Among these candles or in front of them is often a tall candle with a top shaped like a *tac* of the Bektashi Dervish, with four sections at the bottom standing for the Four Gateways; twelve pleats above running to the centre of the top, standing for the Twelve Imams; and a button at the centre of the top, standing for Reality itself, or for the unity of Reality, Muhammad and Ali. This tall candle has three small wicks coming out from its sides, standing for God, Muhammad and Ali. The candle is commonly called the *Kanun Çırağı*, the

[1] One of the interesting but obscure problems connected with the symbolism of the decorations in the *meydan* is the frequently recurring figure of one sort or another with eight rather than twelve the prevailing number. For example, in the hallway of the so-called *Şehitlik Tekke* or Tekke of the Place of the Martyrs on the hill behind Rumeli Hissar, the ceiling has eight pointed stars. In the centre of the ceiling of what was the *meydan* there is a large twelve pointed star, a circle inside that and an eight pointed star within the circle. On the ceiling of the *meydan* of the central Tekke at Haji Bektash Village there was a figure made of square pieces of wood of graduated size each with its points against the middle of the sides of the next square, eight layers in all. The tomb of Haji Bektash himself is said to be an octagonal building whereas the tomb of *Balım Sultan* has twelve faces. *Baba Sait* in his articles in *Türk Yurdu* asserts that the use of eight is a conscious symbol of the Eight Imams, the full twelve being recognised only from the time of *Balım Sultan*, *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 4, No. 22, pp. 325, 326. According to the *Vilayetname* (*Menakıb*) of Haji Bektash (my MS. copy 147a) the first tomb was built at the command of Murat I (1359-89). He is said to have specifically commanded:

Make the dome firm and strong.
But its covering make with eight faces.
For the love of the Eighth Imam (*Imamı Heştum*)
Build the dome according to the intention of the King.

"candle of the law."[1] Sometimes in place of this candle there is at the opposite end of the room a single light called the *Siracı Münir*, Bright light, standing especially for Ali. On one side of the Throne, usually at the left as you face it, there is a sheep-skin, called the *Post*[2] of the Baba or *Mürşit*. Around the room are other sheep-skins, called *Ali el Mürteza Postu, Seyit Ali Sultan Postu, Kaygusuz Postu, Horasan Postu,* and always one for the use of the *Rehber* or guide whose functions in the ceremony are only second to those of the Baba or *Mürşit*. Perhaps in the middle of one of the long sides of the room is an alcove like a fireplace and called the *ocak*, fireplace, or sometimes *Fatma Ocağı*, the fire-place of *Fatma*, or simply *küre*, furnace or fireplace.

Instead of simply the four posts named immediately above, only the *Seyit Ali Sultan Postu* and the *Horasan Postu* being anything like universally present, it is commonly supposed that there are in the Bektashi *meydan* twelve *posts*, each standing symbolically for some great figure in Bektashi history. The Twelve Posts[3] are as follows:

1. *Baba Postu: Horasan Postu,* Haji Bektash Veli.
2. *Aşcı Postu,* Post of the Cook, *Seyit Ali Sultan.*
3. *Etmekçi Postu,* Post of the Baker, *Balım Sultan.*
4. *Nakip Postu,* Post of the Warden or Registrar. *Kaygusuz Sultan.*
5. *Atacı* (or *Atçı*) *Postu,* Post of the Groom, *Kamber Ali.*
6. *Meydancı Postu,* Post of the Keeper of the Meydan, *Sarı Ismail.*

[1] One Baba in Albania asserted that this candle was so named after *Kanunı Suleyman*, Suleyman the Law Giver, who is believed by some Bektashis to have been a member of the Order. Others deny any such origin of the term, considering the reference rather to the Law of the Order.

[2] The word *Post* means in Turkish a skin, usually a sheep-skin.

[3] See *Ilahiyat Fak. Mec.* No. 19, p. 69, n.l.; *Miratul Mekasit*, 270; *Ziya Bey's Bektaşilik* No. 17. The *Miratul Mekasit* p. 271 tells the following story about the sheep-skin upon which the different officials sit. Once Gabriel, Michael, Israfil and Azrail visited the prophet Abraham who received them courteously. After a short conversation the guests asked for a ram to be sacrificed and specified that they wanted Abraham's son Ismail to be this sacrifice. Abraham started to obey when his visitors stayed his hand. Gabriel left the room but soon returned, made himself known and presented the ram sent by God in Ismail's place. The sacrifice was made. Then the hide was flayed off and as it was stretched by the drawing out of each leg the following words were said:

> I say "Greatest" to thee, O Ali!
> I say "Most Generous" to thee O Ali!
> I say "Free from Defect of any kind" to thee O Ali!
> I say "Most Excellent" to thee O Ali!

Across the back the following words were written: "There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is the Prophet of God, Ali is the Saint of God."

7. *Türbedar Postu*, Post of the Keeper of the Tomb, *Kara Donlu Can Baba.*
8. *Kilerci Postu*, Post of the Keeper of the Cellars, *Şahkulu Hacim Sultan.*
9. *Kahveci Postu*, Post of the Coffee Maker, *Şah Şazeli Sultan.*
10. *Kurbancı Postu*, Post of the one who kills the Sacrifice, Abraham.
11. *Ayakçı Postu*, Post of the keeper of the Shoes, *Abdal Musa Sultan.*
12. *Mihmandar Postu*, Post of the keeper of the Guest House, The Prophet *Hızır.*[1]

In the *meydan's* which the writer has visited, with one exception. there has been no sign of these Twelve *Post's*. According to *Ziya Bey*[2] in the large tekkes twelve Babas sit on these twelve *post's* but in smaller tekkes dervishes sit in order of rank upon them. It appears to the writer probable that in most of the Bektashi tekkes, in modern times, the number of special *post's* before which obeisance is made in the ritual has been reduced to not over four.

Corresponding in number to the Twelve *Post's* it is also said that there are in connection with the *Aynicem* Twelve Services. It will be remembered that among the Forty Obligations as described in the printed *Vilayetname*, or *Makalât* of Haji Bektash, "service" was one of the important duties of the *Tarikat* Gateway.[3] Bektashi tradition has it that in the special services performed to-day in connection with the ritual in the *meydan* there is a perpetuation of a custom begun by Ali himself in the training of his own children. These services are twelve in number, and correspond to the duties assigned Ali's sons, friends and relatives. They are as follows[4]:

1. *Tarikatçı, Imam Hasan.*
2. *Ferraş*, sweeper, *Imam Hüseyin.*
3. *Hallâk*, barber, *Mehmet Hanefi.*
4. *Zakir*, one who plays and sings, *Abdüsamet bin Ali.*
5. *Sofracı*, one who sets the table, *Abdülavahit bin Ali.*

[1] The above list follows that in the *Miratül Mekasit.* It is almost identical with that in the *Ilah. Fak. Mec.*, but it differs at several points from the list given by *Ziya Bey*. In my MS. collection Bektashi Texts in a description of the *Aynicem* there is an *Odacı* but no *Atacı*, and in another place in that collection in a MS. called *Fahır name* there are fourteen posts listed, an *ayacı* (?), and a *cihandar*, sovereign, being added. In No. 9 *Miratül Mekasit* has *Şah Şazeli*, *Ziya Bey*, *Şeyh Şazeli*.

[2] *Yeni Gün* Articles No. 17 Feb. 17, 1931.

[3] See page 103.

[4] *Ilah. Fak. Mec.* 19, page 69; *Ziya Bey* in Yeni Gün, No. 28 Feb., 24, 1931.

6. *Ibrikçi*, one who pours water from the pitcher, *Selmani Farisi.*
7. *Sâkii meydan*, cupbearer, *Tayyip ibni Ali.*
8. *Hadimi meydan*, servant, *Abdülmuin.*
9. *Gözcü*, guard, *Abdülkerim ibni Ali.*
10. *Pervane* (moth) one ready for any service, *Abdullah bin Ali.*
11. *Çırağçı*, candle-lighter, *Hadi Ekber bin Ali.*
12. *Bevvap*, doorkeeper, *Abdülalil bin Ali.*

In the case of the ordinary tekke these duties are probably combined, but in theory at least for each ceremony someone is assigned for the performing of each of these tasks.

To return to the description of the *meydan*, we have indicated that there are, generally speaking, in each *meydan*, an entering door with its *eşik* or threshold, a *tahtı Muhammet* bearing both the *kanun çırağı*, and the twelve or more smaller candles, an *ocak* or place representing a fireplace, and several sheep-skins, one for the Baba or *Mürşit*, one for the *Rehber* or Guide, and others representing the places of *Seyit Ali Sultan, Kaygusuz, Horasan*, etc. Sometimes, as in Illustration No. 2, there is a sheep-skin bearing a black turbaned Bektashi *tac* and called the "sheep-skin of the absent one," *Gaip Postu.* In front of the throne with the candles is often an oblong stone called the *Meydan taşı*, stone of the *Meydan*, and on top of this, at least in the case of the room illustrated, there is an oval stone called the *Kanaat taşı*, stone of contentment.

On the walls of the *meydan* are many pictures and inscriptions, such as those shown in the illustrations in Supplement II. In Albania printed plaques showing the *Ya Sin Sure* of the Kuran and the nineteenth *sure* written in the form of the separate letters with which the chapters begin, were commonly found on the walls of *meydan's*.

The position in the exact centre of the *meydan* is always called *Darı Mansur* or simply *Dar*, the "gallows of *Mansur el Hallaj.*" Standing in this place is therefore symbolic of the sacrifice of life for principle in memory of the death of the one who said *Enelhak*, "I am Reality."[1] The position in front of but to the left of the *Tahtı Muhammet* is called *Peymençe.*[2]

Having thus described the tekke and that part of it called

[1] For a full account of Mansur see Massignon's *Al-Hallaj Martyr Mystique de l'Islam*

[2] Perhaps meaning the "place of the vow." It is mentioned in the *Menakıp Vilayetname* of Haji Bektash my MS. copy 105b.

the *meydan* where the ceremony is to take place, we are now prepared to consider the events of the night on which the meeting is to be held. Possibly for weeks in advance the candidate for initiation has felt himself drawn with desire to belong to the order. He has been approved by the members and, as an *aşık* or candidate, has been tested to make sure of his fidelity and his sincerity. Although the description following imagines a man being initiated, it should be remembered that this initiate, called in the ritual *talip* or "seeker," may be either a man or a woman. There may be more than one also entering at the same ceremony.[1] A night convenient for the members, *muhiban*, has been appointed by the Baba. The candidate earlier in the day has brought a ram to the tekke for sacrifice. Theoretically the *tiğbent* or rope belt, to be used in the initiation has been made from the wool of the very ram, thus brought that day for sacrifice. Actually it has probably been found more convenient to have the rope otherwise prepared. During the day, however, the ram has been slaughtered, the meat and other foods prepared, provided, if the candidate's finances have permitted, by himself, and an atmosphere of activity and expectancy has pervaded the whole tekke. At the appointed time, probably about dusk, the members have begun to gather. One or more *gözcü's*, watchers, guard the outer door and admit only the qualified. The members enter the *meydan* with a special ritualistic form. The Baba who is to act as *mürşit* first enters. The room is in darkness save for the light from the three wicks of the *Kanun Çırağı* or from the single light of the *Sıracı Münir*. The Baba does a *niyaz* to his *post* before sitting down. The *niyaz* or prostration, consists of kneeling on the floor, placing the two hands on the floor in front of one and kissing the floor. Then the other members enter in order of rank. Each, before he enters, kneels on his left knee before the threshold placing his two hands on the threshold and kissing each hand once, then stepping over the threshold he does a *niyaz* to the *Horasan Post*, then advancing to the Baba[2] he does a *niyaz* to him kissing

[1] It was stated to me by one Baba that no one is accepted unless he is physically sound. That is, if a candidate has but one eye or one hand, no matter how otherwise worthy he is, he is not acceptable. Since every Bektashi is ideally thought to be a reflection of Ultimate Reality, a body with a member missing is therefore disqualified.

[2] In approaching the Baba the ritual method is said to be: first to stand with hands and feet uncovered, arms folded, hands on the upper arms, right large toe over left, then take two steps forward, stand as before and bow, then two more steps until the position convenient for *niyaz* is reached.

his right knee, his left knee and over his heart.[1] Then he rises, bows, does a *niyaz* to the *Tahtı Muhammet*, to the *Ali Mürteza Post*, backs to the centre of the *meydan* and does a *niyaz* to the *Dar* position. He then takes his appointed place, doing a *niyaz* from his sheep-skin there, before sitting back, thus having done seven *niyaz'es* in all.[2]

In the meantime the *talip*, Seeker, is being prepared by one appointed to be his *Rehber*, Guide,[3] in a room adjoining. The *talip* on entering is expected to be bare-footed. If a man, he may wear his ordinary costume; if a woman, she wears a loose robe of white linen. She is bare-headed and has her hair down, for hair-pins or any worldly adornment such as money, knife or a jewel is forbidden. Being thus attired it is necessary to take the ablution (*abdest*). On behalf of the *talip* the *rehber* recites the following *terceman* (in Arabic).

"In the name of the King, I purpose to take the ablution, the true ablution that flows from the hope of the two creations, and that comes out of the deeds of the world, in order to come nearer to God, Most High. 'And He said: (Kuran 11:43) Embark ye therein. In the name of God be its course and its riding at anchor! Truly my Lord is right gracious, merciful.'"

While pouring water to wash the candidate's hands the *rehber* says: "It is the sacred custom of the Prophet of God to wash your hands in order to be free and absolved from all the divine prohibitions to which you have stretched your hand from eternity until now."

[1] It is often pointed out that in the performing of the full *niyaz* before the Baba the sign of a cross is made.

[2] This description follows the procedure as outlined to me and acted out by an elderly Baba now dead. Knowing the irregularity of procedure in different tekkes, it is very doubtful if this procedure is followed in detail in all tekkes. The description as given in a MS. called "This is the Rite of the Patron Saint, the Sea, the Ocean" in my Bektashi Texts indicates that the Babas occupying the Twelve *Post's* enter in order, each doing a *niyaz* to those already present before taking his place.

My Hurufi-Bektashi friend in Albania, when I asked him to explain the relation of Hurufiism to Bektashiism pointed out there that were seven positions in the *meydan* (he included the *küre* or *ocak* as one of them) and that the *niyaz* to the Baba is on four points, the two knees, the breast and the floor in front. Seven times four is twenty-eight, showing that in the very nature of the ritual where Hurufi influences are not articulately present there is still the basis laid for the Hurufi interpretation which reveals God's manifestation in the twenty-eight letters.

[3] For each initiation a *sahip*, companion, and a *musahip*, also meaning companion, are necessary. In the case of the Kizilbash it is said that only married couples can join, each having as his or her *musahip* someone of the other sex. *Türk Yurdu*, No. 22 pp. 332-335. In the case of the Bektashis the *Rehber* is said to be the *Sahip* and I take it that the *talip* then becomes the *musahip*. Cf. *Ziya Bey's* Articles, No. 16.

While pouring water for his mouth: "It is the sacred custom of the glorious Prophet, our Master, to cleanse your mouth from whatever falsehood and fault may have issued from it until now."

While pouring water for his nose: "It is the sacred custom of the Exalted the glory of the Universe, our Master, to cleanse your nose from whatever forbidden things you have smelt until now."

While washing his face: "It is an obligation required by God the Great, the Glorious, to wash your face in order to be absolved from every shameful thing which has happened from eternity to this moment."

While washing his arms: "It is an obligation required by God to cleanse of everything to which you have put forth your hand to do a forbidden thing."

While wiping his head and ears: "The head is the greatest member, in which the intelligence and the mind must be kept. To be absolved from every unreasonable thing which is counter to the religious law until now is an obligation required by the Lord, the Gracious."

While washing his feet: "It is an obligation required by the Merciful, the Compassionate to be cleansed of every instance of having walked in rebellious and mistaken paths."

While wiping his face and arms: "Wipe thy face clean of the acts of disobedience which thou hast committed until now, and of the impure water of ungodliness with which thou hast been polluted."

The *talip* is then taken by the *rehber* to the door of the *meydan* where first the *rehber* and then the *talip* do *niyaz'es* by kneeling, spreading the hands and placing them on the threshold, then very solemnly kissing the threshold first on the right side, then on the left and finally in the middle. This *niyaz* is said to be in token of the breaking of all sense of self-glorification at the doorway of the *mürşit*. Then rising, the *rehber* standing on the left of the *talip* and facing the closed door, the *rehber* in a very solemn voice says, in Arabic, "O opener of doors," to which from within the *mürşit* replies, "Verily we have opened to thee a manifest victory."[1] Then the *rehber* leads the *talip* into the

[1] The words are exactly the same as Kuran 48:1. This verse is one often found in plaque form on the walls of Bektashi *meydan's*. In *Yakup Kadri's Nur Baba*, 2nd edition, p. 118, the word *baban* is substituted for *fethan* the context evidently leading him to substitute "door" for "victory."

meydan, both taking care to step over the threshold. Advancing in the usual way, three steps, then standing and slightly bowing, right toe over left toe, they approach and *niyaz* to the *mürşit*. The *talip* is seated, and the *mürşit* signals to the *meydancı* who rises, does a *niyaz* to the *mürşit* and takes from the *meydan taşı* the incense holder, goes to the *ocak* and fills it with coals and incense, and after doing a *niyaz* in the *Dar* (centre of *meydan* floor) returns the incense-holder to the *meydan taşı*. He then takes from the *meydan taşı* the rose-water sprinkler, *gülabdan*, withdraws to the *Dar* and recites the following: "By[1] the beauty of Muhammad, the perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations!" *ber cemalı Muhammet kemalı Imam Hasan ve Imam Hüseyin Ali ra bülent salavât.* He then sprinkles the hands of the *mürşit* with rose-water, does a *niyaz* to him, and sprinkles the hands of each of the brothers present. Then going to the *Dar* he pours rose-water in his own hand and anoints his face, recites the same salutation as above, and does a *niyaz*, returns the sprinkler to the *meydan taşı*, *niyaz'es* to the *mürşit* and seats himself.[2] The *rehber* then leads the *talip* to the *mürşit* who gives the following "advice" *nasihat*, to the *talip*: "O Seeker, you wish to enter the Way of Muhammad Ali, the train, *katar*, of our lords the Twelve Imams, and the rites, *erkân*, of our lord Sovereign Haci Bektash Veli. But this Way is difficult; it is the way of reproach, *melamet*; it is sharper than the sword; it is the road which is called the *Sirat köprüsü*.[3] Afterward your enemies will be many; even the one nearest to you will become your enemy. Afterward there will be no value in repentance, for the brothers (*erenler*, literally, "those who have attained") have said: "Come not, come not, turn not, turn not; the property of him who comes, the soul of him who turns (*gelme, gelme, dönme, dönme, gelenin malı dönenin canı*). Will you keep and carry out the advice and council of the brothers?" The *talip* replies: "*Allah Eyvallah*, God, yes by God."

The *mürşit* then addresses the *çırağcı* and says; "Brother,

[1] *Erks.*, No. 1, 2, 3 and 4 all have here the word "ber." The ritual in Bektashi Texts, and in *Behtaşı Ilmihal* have the word "pür," full of.

[2] In *Erk.* No. 4 the order is given thus. In *Erk.* No. 3, the burning of the incense and the sprinkling of the rosewater are accomplished before the initiate enters the room. In *Erk.* No. 2, no reference is made to incense or rosewater. A Baba who has discussed this service with me assures me that in his tekke no incense or rosewater were used at all.

[3] The bridge more slender than a hair from this world to Paradise.

erenler, arise; in accordance with the rites of Muhammad Ali awaken the candle of this soul." The *çırağcı* then rises and says: "In the name of the King. 'Help from God and speedy conquest! Bear thou these tidings to the faithful.'[1] O Muhammad, O Ali! Help! O Patron Saint of the Way, Haji Bektash Veli! By the beauty of Muhammad, the perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations!" Then binding around his waist the Belt of Endeavour, *gayret Kuşağı*,[2] he goes to the *Dar*, does a *niyaz* and receives from the *mürşit* a candle-lighter called the *Delil*, guide. The *çırağcı* then advances to a position directly in front of the candles and recites this *terceman*. "In the name of the King![3] The light of Muhammad is born from Ali, the sun and the moon. Let us also receive a particle of it. By your leave, O King, God, *Eyvallah*." The *çırağcı*, then lights (literally "awakens") his *Delil* from the *Kanun çırağı*, and going to the *mürşit* recites the following *terceman*:

"In the name of the King!
Thy face is the lighted candle of divine assistance, right guidance.
Thy face is good tidings from the face of Reality.
Thy face is the Pilgrimage, the visit to the Sacred Places.
Thy face is the *Kible* (direction toward which prayer is said) of those who obey.
Thy face consists of the kernel of the Kuran.
Thy face is the Good Tidings for the People of the Unity.[4]

By the beauty of Muhammad, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations." He then goes to the *Dar* and recites as follows: "In the name of the King, God, Friend, Reality, He, the Lighted Ones, the Awakened Ones, the Lovers, *aşıklar*, the Faithful Ones, those present in the *aynicem*, and the Dwellers in Love, *sakınanı aşk*, by the beauty of Muhammet, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations." Then beginning with the candle of the Baba he lights them all in turn. When he comes to the candle of the Initiate he recites the following: "In the name

[1] Kur. 61 : 13.
[2] Probably the *tiğbent*. See Illustration No. 10, art. 5.
[3] Some of the MSS. give the word *Allah* here as in other uses of the same invocations, in place of the word *Şah*.
[4] So in *Erk*. Nos. 3 and 4. *Erk*. No. 1 gives the last stanza somewhat differently:

"Thy face is without beginning and ending.
Thy face is both ending and beginning."

of the King, *Seyit*[1] of the *Seyits*, Lover of the *Seyits*, Quintessence of all existence, *hulasai mevcudat*, Intercessor of the day of judgment, Knower of the Mystery and hidden things ; by the Beauty of Muhammad, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations." Having lighted all the candles, he then stands in the position of *Peymençe* to the left of the Throne of Muhammad and recites the following *terceman* : " In the name of the King, the candle of the saints, the light of the heavens, which is this station (*menzil*), that attitude of prayer, (*ol tavrı munacat*), when it is bright make the *niyaz* ; from the heart give salutations to Muhammad Ali. By the Beauty of Muhammad the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations." Then[2] going to the *Dar* he recites this terceman : " In the name of the King, since we have lighted the candle of glory, for the love of God (*Huda*), for the love of the Lord of Creations, Muhammad *Mustafa*, for the love of *Ali El Mürteza*, the cup-bearer of *Kevser*,[3] for the love of both *Hadice* and *Fatma* the best of women, for the love of King *Hasan*, my King *Hüseyin* of Kerbela, for the love of the twelve leaders who are the heart of Saintship, for the love of the Fourteen Pure Innocents of the Family of the Mantle, for the love of our Patron Saint, Sovereign, Pole of the Saints, may it burn, be burnt, until the Assembling at the judgment. By God (*billah*) for his love, by the Beauty of Muhammad, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations." The brothers then join in saying : " The right, benevolent protection in every way of God, God, *Eyvallah*."

The *mürşit* then recites the following *gülbenk* of the candle : " In the name of the King, God, God, the bright candle, the glory of the dervishes, the breath (*dem*) of the sublime glory, the candle of the law of the saints, may it be for ever. May the evenings be pleasant, may good things conquer, may evil things be repelled, may the faithful attain to their desires, may unbelievers be defeated, may evil speakers be ruined, may the

[1] A descendant of Muhammad, a member of the Holy Family.

[2] At this point according to the account in *Erk*. No. 3, the *mürşit* recites the following " Magnifying of the candle," being a quotation from Kur. 24:35 : " God is the light of the Heavens and of the Earth. His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp—the lamp encased in glass—the glass, as it were, a glistening star. From a blessed tree is it lighted, the olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would well nigh shine out, even though fire touched it not. It is light upon light. God guideth whom He will to His light, and God setteth forth parables to men, for God knoweth all things." (Note that this quotation is used to make the word Allah in the chart in Illustration No. 15).

[3] See Glossary of terms for an explanation of this word.

moments (*demler*) be eternal, the assemblies permanent, the acts of worship true and sound, hearts be happy, fellowship be increased, *meydan's* prosperous, the meeting be opened. God, God (*Allah*), may God (*hak*), Muhammad Ali be our intercessor, may the kind protection of our lords the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents be upon us, present and watching over us, may their exalted favour and exalted spirituality always be our friend and helper. May they not separate us from their Face and their Train. When we cry out for help, may they respond to our call. May the noble Patron Saint Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli, our lord, every moment be our support, may he make (us) firm in keeping to his pathway, may he keep us from evil acts, and not put us in need of help from the unworthy (*namerd*), may he keep us from every accident and disaster, may he grant as a favour of kindness peace of conscience, *zevki vicdan*, science and learning, perfection of mystical state, sustenance of providence, God, God; may the candles of the candle owners be bright, may the good things of the benevolent be acceptable, may the sacrifices of the sacrificers be accepted, may God accept, receive and be pleased with our worship, *namazlarımız*, our prostrations, *niyazlarımız*, our rites, *erkânlarımız*, the Three, the Five,[1] the Seven, the Forty, the light of the Prophet, the kindness of Ali, the favour of the Lord of Creations, the Mystery of *Ali El Mürteza*, the reign of the Patron Saint Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli, for the reign, the kindness of the true brothers, *Erenler, Hu.*"

The *çırağcı* then puts out the candle-lighter—literally, "he puts to rest the guide, *delil*"—does *niyaz* to the *Dar* and to the *mürşit*, gives it to the *mürşit* and resumes his place. The *mürşit* then says: "Permission, *destur*, O Seal of the Patron Saints, Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli, pole of the Saints." He then recites the *Nadi Ali*. "In the name of the King; call upon Ali, the Manifester of marvels; thou shalt find him a help unto thee in adversities. I have need for God, most High. I call upon Thee. All care and anxiety will pass away through the light of Thy Greatness. O Allah, O Allah, O Allah, through the light of thy Prophetship, O Muhammed, O Muhammed, O Muhammed; through the secret of thy Saintship O Ali, O Ali, O Ali; come to me, come to me, come to me, O Ali, O possessor of Beauty

[1] This is unusual to mention the Five. Usually Bektashi reference to the Spiritual Hierarchy is limited to the Three, the Seven and the Forty. Throughout this manual, *Erk.* No. 4, however, the Five is included, probably referring to the Five of the Holy Family, *Muhammad*, *Ali*, *Fatma*, *Hasan* and *Hüseyın*.

and Perfection, O owner of Divinity and Majesty. For the sake of *El Hüseyin*, and his grandfather, and his father, and his mother, and his brother and his sons save us from all care and anxiety by the mercy of the most merciful of the merciful and, O best of those who help, O overturner of hearts and minds, change our hearts and our minds for the sake of thy pleasure and the vision of those who long for thee and the elect. There is no one like Ali, and there is no sword like the *Zülfikâr*. He is the Friend of our Lord. Hear us for the sake of the honourable Muhammed and Haydar."[1] The brothers then in unison *niyaz* and say, "To the True one *Hu, gerceğe hu.*"

The *mürşit* then turns to the initiate, *talip*, and addresses him as follows: "O Seeker in our Way, a Guide, *rehber*, is necessary; arise, kiss the hand of thy *rehber*." The *talip* obeys this order and again seats himself, after which the *mürşit* addresses the *rehber* as follows: "*Erenler*, this soul is seeking thee for guidance, *rehberlik*; arise, according to the rites of Muhammed Ali perform the *rehberlik* of this soul." The *rehber* rises and says: "In the name of the King, 'Help from God and speedy Conquest! Bear thou these tidings to the Faithful.'[2] O Muhammed, O Ali, help! O Patron Saint of the Way, Haji Bektash Veli, by the Beauty of Muhammed, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud Salutations." Going to the *Dar* he does a *niyaz*, and then takes the *talip* outside the room, removes from his head the skull-cap, *fasile* or *arakiye*,[3] brings it to the *mürşit* and saying: "In the name of the King, 'and when we please, with others like unto themselves will we replace them.' (Kur. 76:28) By the Beauty of Muhammed, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin* to Ali be loud Salutations," receives from the *mürşit* the *tiğbent* or ritual belt. Going out, he places this belt around the neck of the *talip*, reciting the following: "In the name of the King. 'But the religion of Abraham, the sound in faith, (Kur. 3:89) he who entereth it is safe.'" (Kur. 3:91)[4] Taking in his right hand the right hand of the *talip* and together holding the ends of the belt they *niyaz* to the threshold and again enter the *meydan*; with left hands

[1] One of the names of Ali.
[2] Kuran 61 : 13.
[3] See picture, Illus. 10, Art. 16.
[4] It is given thus in *Erk.* No. 3 and 4, but in No. 3 in red ink above the line the whole of vs. 90 and a part of 91 are given as follows: "The first temple that was founded for mankind, was that in Becca, Blessed and a guidance to human beings. In it are evident signs, even the standing place of Abraham; and he who entereth it is safe." *Erk.* No. 1 also gives this.

over hearts they advance and *niyaz* to the *Dar* and to the *Horasan post*, then standing in the *Dar* the *rehber* recites this *terceman*:

"Standing in the courtyard of Reality myself, *özüm*
Being the dust of the *dergâh*, my face *yüzüm* in prostration and worship
My word, *sözüm*, (being) whatever is thy command, to the King in generosity,
I have stood waiting, my eye, *gözüm*, looking for the answer giving permission,
By the Beauty of Muhammed the Perfection of *Hasan Hüseyin* to Ali be Salutations." Then taking a step forward, the *rehber* says: "Peace be upon you O *Erenler* of the *Şeriat*": Then another step:

"Peace be upon you O Patron Saints, *Pirler* of the *Tarikat*." Then another step:

"Peace be upon you, O Perfect Ones, *Kâmiller* of the *Marifet*." And another step:

"Peace be upon you, O kings, (*Şahlar*) of *Hakikat*."[1] At each step the *mürşit* acknowledges the greeting. The *rehber* then addresses the *mürşit*: "*Allah, Eyvallah,* in the *meydan* of the *Erenler*, in the way of God Muhammed Ali, with the promise of being a friend to our Lords the Twelve Imams, Fourteen Pure Innocents, and an enemy to their enemies, ready to do things and to act in accordance with the advice and council which the *eren's* will give, with his head bare, with bare feet, his neck tied, crawling on his face, *yüz üzerine sürüne*, to the *meydan* and the *eren's*, we have a male lamb sacrifice by the name of so and so who wishes with the approval of the *eren's* of the *Aynicem* to make the married man's confession, *mûteehhil ikrarı*. What is the order of the *mürşit?* Shall we present him?" The *mürşit* then addresses the *eren's* as follows: "O *Erenler*, this soul, bare headed and bare foot, neck bound, in the hand of his *rehber*, having entered into the *meydan* and to the *eren's* wishes to enter the Way, *Yol*, of Muhammed Ali, the train, *katar*, of our Lords the Twelve Imams, the rites of our Lord, our Patron Saint, Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli. What do you say? Are you pleased and satisfied with him? Will you stand sponsor for his perseverance in his confession?" On their bowing in *niyaz* and replying "*Allah, Eyvallah*," he

[1] *Erh.* No. 1 gives the last two of these Greetings of the Four Gateways in reversed order.

adds: "Receiving, the accepted ones, the dervish, the dervishes to the True One, *Hu, kabul, makbulan, derviş, dervişan, gerçeğe hu*."[1]

The *rehber* then recites the following *terceman*: "In the name of the King. 'Verily, God and His angels bless the Prophet! Bless ye Him, O believers, and salute Him with salutations of Peace.'"[2] The *rehber* then surrenders the *talip* to the *mürşit*, by requiring the *talip* with his left hand to take hold of the right side of the *mürşit's* skirt. As he does this the *rehber* says: "It is the skirt of the *mürşit*." Then as the *rehber* puts one hand on the back of the *talip*, and the other hand on the floor in front of him the *mürşit* takes the *talip* by the right hand and recites the following words: "The command of the all-glorious, the sacrifice of the Chosen Friend (Halil i.e., Abraham), the Evidence *delil* of Gabriel, the magnifying *tekbir* of Ismail, laudation, *subhan*, of God, and the Praise of God, *elhamdullah*, and there is no God except God and God is the Most Great, and there is no might and no power except by God, the Very High, the Very Great." Then the *mürşit* whispers into the right ear of the *talip* the following instruction, *telkin*: "In the name of the Prince. I ask pardon of God, I ask pardon of God, I ask pardon of God for every crime which I have committed intentionally or unintentionally, secretly or openly. And I repent of the sin which I know, and of the sin which I do not know; and I testify that there is no God except God, He is one and has no partners; and I testify that Muhammad is his slave and his apostle; and I testify that the commander of the faithful is Ali the Saint of God, and the legatee of the Prophet of God; and I testify that the lord of the women of the world is the honourable Fatma *Elzehra*, and the mother of the faithful is the honourable *Hadice Elkubra*, and I testify that the commander of the faithful honourable *Hasan*, the specially chosen, is our Imam by right, *bil hak*, and I testify that the commander

[1] It is given thus in *Erk*. No. 4. No. 3 reverses the words in this last phrase, *dervişe, dervişan kabul makbulan*. Sometimes as given in *Erk*. No. 1 there is recited by the *mürşit* the formal word of approval, *Hoşnudiyet*: "God, God, yes, by God, since those who participate in the *Aynicem* are satisfied and pleased with the soul who stands in the house of the *eren's* and since God, *Er hak*, Muhammad Ali, our Lords the Twelve Imams and the Fourteen Pure Innocents are also satisfied and pleased with him may the true *Eren's* not separate him from their face, *didarlarından*, or from their train, or their lodge house, *dergâh*. May the *eren's* of *Rum* and the Patron Saints of *Horasan* be his friends and helpers, *yar ve yaveri ola*; Let us say *Hu* for the reign of the light of the Prophet, the grace, *kerem*, of Ali, of our Patron Saint the honourable Soverign Haji Bektash Veli and of the true *eren's*. *Hu*."

[2] Kur. 33 : 56.

of the faithful, *Hüseyin*, the martyr oppressed in the region of Kerbela, is our Imam by right. Good character and disposition *hüsnü hulk*, approval, *riza*, belong to the other Imams, the mercies of God be upon them all. [1] O *talip*, the face of God, know that our Lords, these Twelve Imams, are one light with God; have faith; know that thy sect, *mezhep*, is the real one; do not lie; do not eat forbidden things; do not be a slave to lust; do not practise hate, pride, envy, anger, enmity, back-biting; conceal what you have seen; do not tell what you have not seen, do not take up the thing which your hand has not laid down; do not stretch out thy hand to that which thy strength cannot accomplish; do not (try) to speak where thy word will not carry; behave with caution; speak with humility; give honour to thy inferior; give respect to thy superior; wherever thou lookest behold the Divine Reality, *hak*; do not look upon anything as separate from or other than Reality; be sincere in thy confession; know that Reality is present in thee [2]; make known the mysteries [3] to the *eren's*; keep thyself steadfast in the Way, *tarik*; thy *mürşit* is *Ali*; thy *rehber* is Muhammed [4]; thy group is the group of salvation *naci*; thy sect is that of *Imam Cafer Sadık*; thy Patron Saint is the honourable Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli. Knowing this, have faith."

The *mürşit* then takes up the *tac* or Bektashi headpiece and says: "In the name of the King. Praise be to God who ordained the taj, *tac*, and the miraculous journey, *miraç*, and the pulpit, *minber*, and *El Burak*, [5] our Lord Muhammad and his pure family. 'Glory be to Him who carried his servant by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the temple that is more remote, whose precinct we have blessed, that we might show Him of our signs! For He is the Hearer, the Seer.' [6] '*Elif, lam mim*. God, there is no God but He.' [7] 'Everything shall perish except His face! Judgment is His, and to Him shall ye

[1] *Erk.* No. 4 ends thus at just the point where *Hasan's* name would be. *Erk.* No. 3 goes through the whole list, giving in the same form the recognition of the Imamate of each of the Twelve.

[2] Innocent as these last few lines appear, the radical secret of Bektashiism is in large part conveyed by these words. The *telkin* having started in fairly orthodox fashion ends with an assertion of God's manifestation in man.

[3] This may mean an encouragement to speak to fellow members of one's own inner religious experiences, or it may mean to speak of the secret things of the order only to fully initiated members. Probably to the initiate both ideas would be conveyed.

[4] This in *Erk.* No. 4. In *No.* 3 Muhammad is the *mürşit* and Ali the *rehber*.

[5] The steed on which Muhammad was transported from Mecca to Jerusalem on the miraculous journey.

[6] Kuran 17: 1.

[7] Kuran 3: 1.

return.'[1] God, God, the mystery of the Family of Muhammad Ali, the *tac* of the gnostics, the *gavs*[2] of those who have attained, the axis, *kutup*, of the holy men, the luminous temple, the honourable Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli of *Nişabur, Horasan*, to the greatness of God be praise. God is most great, God is most great. There is no God but God. Verily God is most great. God is most Great. Verily to God belongs praise. Assignment of credit, *havalet*, O King, Saints, *Hu*, Friend." Putting the *tac* on the head of the *talip*, he rubs the back of it three times saying the while, "Permission, *destur*, O King of men, Twelve Imams, Real *Mürşit*, to the true, *Hu*." Then taking up the *tiğbent* he ties three knots[3] in it accompanying the tying of each knot with a recitation of the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the Kuran, the *Sure* of Making Clear the Unity: "Say He is God alone; God the Eternal! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him." Then binding the *tiğbent* around the waist of the *talip* the *mürşit* says: "'O ye who believe! be patient, and vie in patience, and be firm, and fear God, that it may be well with you.'[4] To the greatness of God a pronouncing of greatness. God is most great, God is most Great. There is no God but God; verily God is most great, God is most great, verily to God belongs praise, assignment of credit, *havalet*, O King of the Saints, *Hu*, Friend." Then the *mürşit* takes the hand of the *talip* (presumably by holding the fingers of the right hand, the thumbs opened and pressed against each other)[5] and says: "In the name of the King. 'In truth, they who plighted fealty to thee, really plighted that fealty to God: The hand of God was over their hands! Whoever therefore shall break his oath shall only break it to his own hurt; but whoever shall be true to his engagement with God, He will give him a great reward.[6]' God, Most Great speaketh truth.[7] O *Talip*, have you accepted the faith which

[1] Kuran 28 : 88.

[2] Chief of God's Saints on earth called also the *Kutup*.

[3] These three knots, although not explained in the ritual being followed, stand for the *elbagı*, the binding of the hand against stealing or wrongfully taking; the *dil bagı*, the binding of the tongue against lying and slander; and the *bel bagı*, the binding of the loins against sex impurity. See Illustration No. 10, Article 5.

[4] Kuran 3 : 200.

[5] *Erk.* No. 3 says that the *rehber's* hand is held in between the hands of the *mürşit* and the *talip*.

[6] Kuran 48 : 10.

[7] The quotation up to this point including the Kuranic passages are omitted in *Erk.* No. 3. In No. 4, the passage from the Kuran, being in Arabic, is translated phrase by phrase and its application to the present situation made clear. The two accounts then continue as here.

you have confessed in the Face of God, *didarı Allah*, and the counsel and the advice ?" This question is asked three times, the *talip* replying each time, "*Allah, Eyvallah*, God, yes by God." The *mürşit* then says: "Go, be at the pleasure of the *rehber*. 'Verily God and his angels bless the Prophet! Bless ye Him, O Believers, and salute Him with salutations of Peace.'"[1]

Rising together the *rehber* and the *talip* go to the *Dar* and after making a *niyaz*, the *rehber* recites the following *terceman*: "In the name of the King;

Praise be to God that I have become a real slave, *bende*, of God.
From the soul and by the tongue with love (I have become) the servant, *çaker*, of the Family of the Mantle.
Departing from the way of darkness I have put foot on the straight path;
I have awakened from the sleep of indifference, *gaflet*; I have opened the eye of my soul.
I am the slave of the Twelve Imams; I am of the group of Salvation, *guruhu naci*.
I have become separate, *cuda*, from the Seventy-two parties,
My sect is the real *Caferı* one, I renounce, *farig*, the others.[2]
My Patron Saint, My Master is Haji Bektash the Pole of the Saints.
Saying, *Hak*, the Divine Reality, I have bound up my loins, *bel*, make confession to the *eren's*.
Muhammad has become my *mürşit*; *Mürteza* is my *rehber*.
For the sake of the Beauty of Muhammed, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin* to Ali be loud salutations.
May there be from the *eren's* rightful, benevolent help in every way, *Allah, Allah, Eyvallah*."

The *mürşit* then replies with this *gülbenk*[3]: "In the name of the King, *Allah, Allah*. May your excellence be increased, *fahrınız mezit ola*, your stopping place clean, *menziliniz pak ola*, your desire attained; may your wish conquer; may the benevolent help, *himmet*, of God Muhammed Ali, of our Lords the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents be present and watching over you, may it not separate you from their faces and their train; may the honourable Patron Saint Haji Bektash Veli, our Lord, every moment be your support; may

[1] Kuran 33 : 56. This quotation is absent in *Erk*. No. 3.
[2] *Erk*. No. 1 has "The others are false," *gayriler batıldır*.
[3] So called in *Erk*. Nos. 3 and 4. *Gülbenk* is regularly used of the words said by the *mürşit*; and *terceman* is used of the recitals by the *rehber*.

he keep you steadfast following his way, *sülûk*; may he not have you involved in evil acts, or in need of help from the unworthy, *namerd*; may he keep you from every disaster and accident; the reign, *dem*, of the Patron Saint, the kindness of the Saints, to the reign and the kindness of the true *eren's*, *Hu*."[1]

Then the *talip* and the *rehber* go to the *mürşit*, *niyaz* to him, the *rehber* saying: "The East and the West is God's: therefore whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God."[2] The *mürşit* replies by saying: "Their tokens are on their faces, the marks of their prostrations."[3] The *talip* is then caused to *niyaz* to each of the fully initiated,[4] the *erenler*, present and then is led to the *mürşit's post* where he is caused to do a *niyaz*. The *rehber* then whispers in his ear: "O seeker of the face of God, they call this *post* the *Post* of *Ahmet Muhtar*; all believing men and women by doing obeisance at this station attain to Reality." They *niyaz*, and then go to the *rehber's post*. The *rehber* there says, "They call this the *Post of Ali*. This is the first doorway of the *şeriat*, the *tarikat*, the *marifet*, the *hakikat*. Without coming to this station, the way cannot be found. It is the Station of the Guide, *rehber*; the Station at which attainment is made to the Divine Reality." They *niyaz* and then proceed to the *Post of Horasan*. The *rehber* says: "They call this the *Post of Horasan*. It is the sheep-skin, *post*, which our honourable Patron Saint brought from *Horasan*. The *Post* of the Patron Saint is the Station where attainment is made to the Divine Reality." They *niyaz* and proceed to the throne with the candles where the *rehber* says: "This in the *meydan* of the *eren's* they call *Kanun çırağı*, the candle of the law. All souls when enlightened by its light behold the beauty of the Divine Reality. It is the Station where attainment is made to the Divine Reality." They *niyaz* and proceed to the *Dar* position where likewise the *rehber* says: "They call this the Gallows of Mansur, *darı Mansur*. Without coming here attainment is not made to any station. It is the station where attainment is made to God."[5] Then of the *meydan* itself the *rehber* says: "They call this the *meydan*, place, of Muham-

[1] This *gülbenk* in No. 3 is considerably longer.
[2] Kuran 2 : 109.
[3] Kuran 48 : 29.
[4] In *Erk*. No. 4 this greeting to each follows the visit to the several *post's*.
[5] In *Erk*. No. 3 there are additional visits made to the *Aşçı*, *Ekmekci*, *Küre* and *meydan taşı* positions.

mad Ali. All believing men and women holding hands in this Station, making confession, have attained to the Divine Reality. It is the Station of the Formal Worship, of the Ascent of the Believer, *essalatu miracul mümin*." After making a *niyaz* they go to the *Dar* and the *rehber* recites this *terceman*: "In the name of the King:

> Grace opened thy gate; I saw the king of tumultuous joy
> I saw Muhammad Mustafa, the support of every poor man
> With the eye of certainty I saw as leader the King of Saintship.
> With all desire I saw myself under the loophole, *Küve*,
> For the sake of the Beauty of Muhammad, the Perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin* to Ali be loud salutations."

The *rehber* and the *talip* then *niyaz* to the *mürşit*, to the candles, to the *Horasan post*, and to the *meydan*, after which the *talip* is seated in his place and the *talip* and the *rehber niyaz* to each other.

The *rehber* then goes to the *Dar* and recites this *terceman*: "In the name of the King, *Allah, Allah*, receive all my services; O King, for the sake of the Family of the Mantle and the exalted *dergâh*, from the *eren's*, (may there be) rightful, benevolent aid in every way, *Allah, Allah, Eyvallah*." To this the *mürşit* replies with the following *gülbenk*: "In the name of the King. May thy service be acceptable, thy desire attained, thy wish conquer; may God Muhammad Ali be thy helper in both the external, *zahir*, and the spiritual, *batın*; may the honourable Patron Saint Haji Bektash be thy guide; may the Three, the Seven be thy external and spiritual guard, *gözcü*, and keeper, *bekci*; the reign (*dem*) of the Patron Saint, the grace of the Saints, for the reign of the true one, *Hu!*" The *rehber* then does a *niyaz* to the *mürşit*, who acknowledges the *niyaz* with the words, "*Aşk Olsun*, may (thy reward) be the Divine Love," and the *rehber* then takes his place.

The *mürşit* then addresses the *çırağçı*: "*Erenler*, arise, for the sake of the pure spirit of our lord, *efendimiz*, the lord of martyrs, *seyidi şüheda*, *Hüseyin* of Kerbela, in the *meydan* of the *eren's* freely give, *sebil*[1] *eyle*." The *çırağçı* rises and after

[1] Literally the word *sebil* means in the first place "road or path." *Kamusu Türkı* gives the meaning "to freely give as a benefit." The reference is to any service done without return, for benevolent purpose, in an effort to walk in the "way" of God's direction.

niyaz'ing takes the sherbet from the *meydan taşı*,[1] and beginning with the *mürşit*, says: "He caused them to drink, *O Hüseyin*; *sekahum ya Hüseyin*." The *mürşit* replies: "The peace of God be upon *Hüseyin*, the curse of God be upon the murderer of *Hüseyin*." In the same way the sherbet is served to all, after which the *çırağçı* goes to the *Dar*, drinks himself and recites this *terceman*:

"In the name of the King, *Allah*. For the love of the *eren's* of *Rum* we have passed out of ourselves, *can ve başdan geçmişiz*; for the love of those who, with the eye of the soul drink by drink, *dembidem*, have seen the Divine Reality; for the love of those who gave their lives in the grief of the plain of Kerbela; for the love of those who remained thirsty in the hands of *Yezit*, I have poured out the tears of my eyes, *gözlerim yaşin sebil ettim.* He caused them to drink, *sekahum, O Hüseyin*. For the sake of the Beauty of Muhammad, the perfection of *Imam Hasan* and *Imam Hüseyin*, to Ali be loud salutations. From the *eren's* be rightful, benevolent help in every way, *Allah, Allah, Eyvallah*."

The *mürşit* then recites the following *gülbenk*: "In the name of the King, *Allah, Allah*, the martyrs of Kerbela, the saints of Kerbela, the righteous ones of Kerbela, the pure ones of Kerbela, *asfiya*, may their spirits be joyful and happy; may their visits, their intercessions, visible and unseen, be divinely facilitated; may they not separate us from their face, their train; when we cry out to them may they answer our call; may the benevolent help of God Muhammad Ali, of our Lords the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents be upon us, watching over us; may the honourable Patron Saint our lord be our helper, may there be the light of faith for those who drink in manifestation of the verse: 'and drink of a pure beverage shall their Lord give them'[2]; may there not be sadness and sorrow where they go; the reign of the Patron Saint, the grace of the Saints, for the sake of the lord of the martyrs, to the reign, the grace of the true *Eren's, Hu!*" The *çırağçı* then

[1] The cup usually used is apparently a copper bowl perhaps dipped in white metal and usually highly engraved, about eight inches in diameter. Evidence in the form of positive statements differs as to whether the drink offered in this ritualistic way is intoxicating or not. One informant in whom I have particular confidence says that the drink taken at this time as a necessary part of the ritual is, or may be, a non-intoxicating sherbet, and that after the formal service in the general fellowship following, *raki*, an intoxicating drink, is drunk by those who wish it. Another authority is positive that *raki*, an intoxicating liquor like brandy, is always used in this formal part also.

[2] Kuran 76: 21.

returns the sherbet bowl to its place, does a *niyaz*, sweeps the room and afterwards says this *terceman*: "Receive my service, O King. For the sake of the Family of the Mantle and the exalted *dergâh*, may there be rightful, benevolent help from the *Eren's* in every way, *Allah, Allah, Eyvallah*." To that the *mürşit* replies with this *gülbenk*: "May thy service be accepted, thy purpose be attained, thy wish conquer; may the benevolent help of our lord the chief carpet spreader, *seyit feraş*, be upon you; may God Muhammad Ali openly and secretly be your help and friend, may the honourable Patron Saint, our lord, be your aid; the reign of the Patron Saint, the Grace of the Saints, to the reign of the true *eren's*, *Hu*, let us say *Hu!*"

The *çırağçı* puts away the broom and mat with which he has done the sweeping, and *niyaz'es* to the *meydan* and the *mürşit*, and takes his place; after this the *mürşit* recites the following *gülbenk*[1]: "In the name of the King, *Allah, Allah*, may the times be good, may good things conquer, may evil things be warded off, may believers be in possession of their wish, may unbelievers be defeated, may hypocrites be scattered, may the *demler* (moments, drinks) be lasting, may the assemblies be permanently existing, may the acts of worship be true and sound, may hearts be happy, fellowship be increased, may the *meydan's* be in good condition, the meetings open. *Allah, Allah*, may God, *Er hak*, Muhammad Ali every moment be our helper and intercessor; may the favour, *safa nazar*, of our lords the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents make our external affairs, *zahirlerimiz*, prosperous, *mamur*; our inner, spiritual life, *batınlarımız*, full of light. May it not separate us from their faces, from their trains (of followers). When we cry out to them may they answer our call, *Allah, Allah*. May the spirits of the Martyrs of Kerbela, the saints of Kerbela, the righteous ones of Kerbela, the sincere friends, *asfiya*, of Kerbela, the girded ones, *kemerbestegân*, the noble family and children of the People of the House, *ehli beyt*, the honourable purified wives be happy, joyous, *Allah, Allah*; may the very choice spirits, *enfası tayyibe* and exalted spiritual influence, *ruhaniyâtı aliyye* of Adam the True, *Safi*; Noah the Confidant, *Neci*; Abraham the Intimate Friend, *Halil*; Moses the Interlocutor, *Kelim*; Jesus the Anointed, *Mesih*; and all the other honour-

[1] The following translation is taken from *Erk.* No. 4 where the *gülbenk* as written covers a little over a page and a half. In *Erk.* No. 3 the corresponding *gülbenk* varies considerably and is eleven pages long.

able prophets, *dembidem* (moment by moment or sip by sip of wine) be our aids, *muzahirimız*. *Allah, Allah*, may our Lord the honourable Sovereign Haji Bektash Veli be our helper, and may the help and spiritual influence of the other Patron Saints and honourable saints of God be present and watching over us. May the help and spiritual influence of those in whom the House of Faith glories, the honourable *Balım Sultan, Sarı Ismail Sultan, Cemaleddin Sultan, Hacım Sultan, Abdal Musa Sultan, Seyit Ali Sultan, Ak Yazılı Sultan, Sarı Saltık Sultan, Kaygusuz Sultan*,[1] be like a canopy over us. May the spirits of all the honourable *Halife's* and *Baba's* who have passed through this Way be joyous and happy. May the exalted help of all the honourable *Halife's* and *Baba's* present be here watching (over us). May the aims of present and absent *Muhib's* and *aşık's* be attained. May the time of cycling, *demi devran*, of the dervishes be perpetual; may they succeed in solving all their difficulties, in attaining their good desires, in the perpetuation of the goodwill of the Merciful, in spiritual perfections, and in the contemplation of the divine Beauty, *cemal*. *Allah, Allah*, may our confessions be pure, our faith undefiled, our proud headpieces, *fahır*, be blessed, our words faithful, our acts true, our worship, our prostrations, our sciences, our rites, be acceptable and accepted, and approved of God's consummate greatness. The Three, the Five, the Seven, the Forty, the Light of the Prophet, the Grace of Ali, the reign of Haji Bektash Veli, to the reign of the true *eren's Hu*."[2]

With this prayer the formal service is brought to a close. The remainder of the evening, often long into the night, is spent in a social way, both food and drink being passed around.[3] The drink is served in a formal way, the cup-bearer making a full *niyaz*, kissing the two knees of the Baba, offering the cup with his thumb laid along the edge,[4] the Baba taking it in similar manner, the cup-bearer kissing the thumb of the Baba and being at the same time kissed himself by the Baba. The Baba holds the cup at his breast a moment and closes his eyes, the

[1] *Erk.* No. 3, in addition to such names as are given here, includes many others who were certainly not Bektashis, including *Muhyiddini Arabı, Şehabeddin Suhervardi, Şemsi Tebriz, Celaleddin Rumı, Ibrahim Ethem* and others.

[2] *Erk.* No. 4 includes also at the very end a prayer for *Nafi Baba*, presumably the famous *Nafı Baba* of the *Şehitlik Tekke* at Rumeli Hisar. He died in 1330 (1911).

[3] See the description of this in *Ziya Bey's* articles in *Yeni Gün*, No. 21.

[4] As if, it is said, to conceal from an unqualified onlooker a knowledge of the contents, which here drunk as a part of the ritual, is unlawful to the orthodox Moslem.

while murmuring a prayer for those not present. After drinking, the cup is handed back and the second cup-bearer, *saki*, offers him food, *meze*. A third *saki* follows offering a napkin with which the Baba wipes his mouth. In a similar way all present are served, the rounds being made three times after which small trays bearing food and *raki*, *dem*, are placed in front of members who now gather in groups. As they eat and drink musicians play upon stringed instruments and *nefes'es* are sung. Then those who wish rise for the dance, *sema*,[1] which is done in couples, a man and a woman together. They first go to the Baba, *niyaz* to him and then go to the centre of the room where in several "figures" they perform the dance. According to *Ziya Bey's* description,[2] the first "figure" consists of rhythmically bending their bodies to the right and left, at first slowly then with increased speed. In the second "figure" they put their left hands on their breasts, bow slightly, then as their bodies bend, swing also their arms from right to left and back. In the third "figure" they move around, *devrederler*. After encircling the room a few times they pass to the fourth "figure" in which each turns as they together move about the room, the music quickening and becoming louder. *Ziya Bey* describes the dance as beautiful in the harmonious, rhythmic movement of hands and swaying of bodies. There is nothing, he says, suggestive or improper in the behaviour of the dancers. In fact a guard, *gözcü*, is there to interfere if there is the slightest impropriety. According to *Ziya Bey* this dance is a custom inherited from very ancient days when the Turks were Shamanists.[3] Some of the "figures" which were of old used by the Shamans in their religious ceremonies are still used to-day in many places of Anatolia and are called *halay*.[4]

[1] The word *sema* literally means "hearing." It comes to mean dance from the fact that the hearing of the tune on the stringed instruments and the singing of the *nefes'es* leads to a desire for the accompanying circular dance.

[2] *Yeni Gün*, No. 22, Feb. 16, 1931.

[3] For a full statement of Shamanism, the religion of the early Turks, in Central Asia, Czaplicka's Aboriginal Siberia, Part III is of special value. See a description of the dance, p. 237. Just as in Shamanism it is the Shaman who dances, so in the Bektashi *Sema*, the Baba sometimes dances alone. The *nefes* beginning *Eşref oglu al haberi*, discussed on page 156f., is one to which the Baba often danced. Howorth's *Mongols*, in the Supplement, Part IV, also has a good discussion of Shamanism and its practices.

[4] This interpretation of the *sema* as given by *Ziya Bey* is in accordance with the modern tendency in Turkey to trace as much of Bektashiism as possible back to the pre-Islamic past. In reality the strength of early Bektashiism probably lay in its use of practices that, because of similarity, were familiar to various groups. The *sema*, as well as being reminiscent of Shaman practice, is also an accepted procedure in Islamic mysticism. *Sahrwardi's Awarifu-L-*

A well-known poem called the *Sakiname*, or cup-bearer's song, written by *Safi*, is said to be recited by the *rehber* following the *Aynicem* and preceding the social hour just described.[1] The poem is as follows :

Come O cup-bearer of the unity, offer the cup of wine, *payale*.
" Their Lord shall cause them to drink pure water."[2]
From its brim may life come to the people of ecstasy.
" Their Lord shall cause them to drink pure water."

Gel ey sakii vahdet sun payale[3]
Sekahum rabbuhum mâan tahuran
Hayat ersin lebinden ehli hala
Sekahum rabbuhum mâan tahuran.

Drinking one's fill from the wine of thy brim (or thy lip)
Drinking till satisfied at the attaining (to God) of the lovers.
Hearts burning with however much separation
Drinking till satisfied at the attaining (to God) of the lovers.

Dudağın şerbetinden kana kana
Içip âşıkların vaslına kana
Yürekler nice bir fırkatla yana
Içip âşıkların vaslına kana.

Those who "drink a cup, of the cup of Ali" (or the exalted cup)
Drink from the eternal, " They shall say Yea "[4]
It is our rite, this wine, (received) from the Saint.
They drink from the eternal, " They shall say Yea."

Ma'arif, Clark's translation, pp. 29-37, gives an excellent account of the dance as practised in Sufiism. The dance of the *Mevlevi's* is, of course, the outstanding example of *sema* in Isalmic practice. The origin of the dance in both Shamanism and Sufiism is probably the universally observed influence of music and rhythmic movements of the body over the inner mental and spiritual state.

[1] I have been told that this *Sakiname* is used only in the service of *Nevruz*, New Years, but a Bektashi Baba assured me it was recited by the *rehber* following each *aynicem*. The poem is found in all four of my Manuals, but in varying form.

[2] Kuran 76 : 21. The word *maan* is substituted for the *şaraban* as in the Kuran, in order to make the metre come out right. It is so in all four manuals.

[3] Since the four versions differ somewhat, this version is taken from *Erk*. No. 1 in which the vowels are all pointed as transliterated here. In the third line of this verse *Erk.'s* 2 and 2 have *elinden*, " from his or thy hand," instead of *lebinden*. *Erk*. No. 3 omits the word altogether.

[4] This expression, *Kalu bela*, is a quotation frequently occurring in the Kuran 6 : 30, 7 : 171, 40 : 53, 57 : 13, 67 : 9. The word " *Bela* " grammatically being used to give an affirmative answer to a negative question is almost invariably used in the Kuran in token of a confession of truth too late as in 6 : 30 : But if thou couldest see when they (the unbelievers) shall be set before their Lord ! He shall say to them, " Is not this it (the Resurrection) in truth ? " They shall say : " Yea, Lord ! " " Taste then," saith he, " the torment, for that ye believed not." The Bektashis on the other hand, are those who from the beginning (*ezelden*) have recognized the Reality of God. In the *Bezmi elest* (see page 112), the Feast where God asked " Am I not thy Lord," they are the ones who said, " Yes."

Içenler bir kadeh camı Aliden
Vururlar dem ezel Kalu Beladan.
Bize erkândir işbu mey Veliden
Vururlar dem ezel Kalu Beladan.

From its wine (i.e., the drinking of the rite) the people of
  hearts[1] being intoxicated and bewildered
Overflow like the seven seas.
From eternity we have drunk that cup
Overflowing like the seven seas.

Deminden ehli diller mest medhuş
Olup deryaı heft âsa eder coş
Ezelden eyledik ol badeyi nuş
Olup[2] *deryaı heft âsa eder coş.*

May it take away the barrier[3] of the people of hearts
May it reveal the moonlight of hearts
Bring to the *meydan* that wine of *Kevser*
May it reveal the moonlight of hearts.

Götürsün ehli dillerin hicabın
Ayan etsin gönüller mahtabın
Getir meydana ol kevser şarabın
Ayan etsin gönüller mahtabın.

Thy slave Safi, beside myself with love of Thee,
Tears full of blood flow from thine eye
Let it go round again, that rose-coloured cup
Their Lord will cause them to drink of pure water.

Kulun Safi olup aşkınla mecnun
Sebil eyler gözünden eşki purhun
Yeni devir eylesin ol camı gülgün
Sekahum rabbuhum maan tahuran.

Just as the characteristic of the *Rufai* order is to produce a state of ecstasy by the swaying of the body and the repetition out loud of God's name and praises of Him; and just as the *Mevlevi's* produce their "state" by whirling in their special manner to the tune of the *ney* and drum; so the Bektashi here claims, in the spirit of a sacrament, remembering the recognition of God before creation[4] began, that it is the Bektashi's characteristic rite or ceremony to produce a state of spiritual intoxication by the drinking of wine or *raki*.

[1] Those who are guided by inner experience rather than external form.
[2] In *Erk.* No. 4, *içip*.
[3] See in Glossary the word *hicap*.
[4] See reference to the feast of *Elest*, page 112.

6. *The Ethical Life*

In common with all the dervish orders, Bektashiism also has had to face certain moral dangers implicit in its system. The description already given of the place of the *mürşit* or *şeyh* is sufficient to indicate what the chief of these dangers can be. If the *mürşit* is sincere and competent, his influence is correspondingly good. If he is well meaning but ignorant, his influence is certain to count for evil. All too often in every dervish order, the *mürşit* has been a man possibly well learned in his own system but without any basis in real culture and with perhaps no conception whatever of what the world to-day calls science. Give such a man spiritual authority over a few score or a few hundred followers, and his influence, even if good in one direction, must work for evil in other directions. One of the keenest observers who visited Turkey in the last century saw that social progress, even the highest moral progress of the individual, was impossible under the dervish system. "The Sheikh of the Dervishes says," writes Ubicini,[1] "'There is no law,' or rather, 'I myself am the law. Everything is good that I command, everything that I forbid is bad. You ought to slay your mother and your sovereign if I command it, for my sentence is the sentence of God.'" The *Ulema*, Ubicini felt, might become reconciled to the reform programme of the political government. "But such a result will never be arrived at with the Dervishes, who are engaged in a mortal conflict with the ruling powers."

In addition to the moral implications involved in a system where individual men considered holy, but often, nevertheless, ignorant, have absolute spiritual authority over the lives of many followers, there was also a special moral danger in the Bektashi order. Its very secrecy, the social freedom granted to women, and the ritual use of intoxicating liquor made it inevitable, as has already been pointed out, that here and there a Baba would arise who would develop his own popularity and build a social group in his own tekke by admitting those who came to misuse the privileges allowed. Such a Baba would do much to spread an evil reputation, and because of their natural hostility the Sunni Moslems outside the order would be only too eager to spread and even exaggerate the report of immoral conduct.

In spite, however, of these dangers, Bektashis, both in Albania and in Turkey, have on the whole born a reputation for

[1] Letters on Turkey, 1856, I, 111.

ethical living somewhat higher than the other racial and religious groups in the midst of which they have been living. No fair appraisal of their ethics can be made without at least a knowledge of the ideals after which they have striven and which in many a good man have been reasonably approximated. The ethical ideal of Bektashiism is better than anywhere else expressed in a Persian book called the *Fevaitname*[1] or *Book of Spiritual Graces*. We will close our study of Bektashi Rites and Practices by quoting from this book, allowing the words, which are believed by Bektashis to be those of Haji Bektash himself, to bear their own witness :

Haji Bektash Veli, may God bless his mystery, has said : If you wish to be always under the protection of God keep in your heart the following counsel : Act with loyalty toward God, with justice toward (His) creatures, with desire to oblige toward the great, with compassion toward subordinates, with forbearance toward enemies, with fidelity toward friends, with discipline toward yourself, with liberality toward dervishes, with humility toward the learned, and with the maintaining of silence toward the ignorant.[2]

The very venerable Haji Bektash Veli, may God bless his mystery, said that God once said to Moses, upon whom be peace : I have put five things into five things ; do not search for them elsewhere, for you cannot find them. Having all, I have put knowledge and wisdom in hunger ; do not search for them in satiety. I have put riches in contentment with little ; do not search for them in avarice. I have put happiness in knowledge ; do not search for it in ignorance.[3]

With the purpose of giving right guidance, Haji Bektash Veli has said : The Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, has said : He who has known himself, he alone has known his Lord. Now, in conformity with this principle one might say : He who has known his Lord in His divinity, has known himself

[1] The writer is indebted to his friend *Sulo Bey Çelo*, of Tirana, Albania, who kindly copied and sent him the only copy of this book the writer has seen, and to *Bay Cami* who has made the Persian available to the writer by rendering it into French. There has been no opportunity for a critical study of the text to determine its age or origin. One can only say that the book is regarded by some well informed Bektashis at least as the most authentic representation there is of the real teachings of the Founder. Whether this opinion is critically justified or not, the ethical value remains as a potent influence for good. The whole book would seem to be worthy of critical study and a full translation. The present quotations made originally from the French have been carefully revised on the basis of the Persian text.

[2] *Faide*, LXVIII.

[3] *Faide*, LXIV. In my MS. the fifth thing is not included.

in his servitude; He who has known himself in his poverty, has known his Lord in His riches; he who has known himself in ill-usage, has known his Lord in faithfulness; and he who has known himself in deficiency, has known his Lord in perfection; and he who has known himself in humility has known his Lord in (His) greatness; and he who has known himself as mortal has known his Lord as immortal.[1]

The very venerable Haji Bektash Veli, may God bless his glorious mystery, has said: Once someone asked *Ibrahim Ethem*: How have you been able to abandon of your own free will such a sovereignty and its benefits? He replied: I know that this world will pass away whether I like it or not; I have abandoned it of my own free will before it abandons me.[2]

Haji Bektash Veli, may God bless his glorious mystery, has said: If anyone asks you what I have said tell them in reply that I said: Whenever you rise up, rise with the purpose of serving; if you have to speak, speak with wisdom; when you go to sit down, sit down with respect.[3]

One day, a dervish in order to get instruction, asked of Haji Bektash Veli as follows: God said: When the prophet *Ismail* arrived at the age when he could perform the rites of the pilgrimage with the prophet *Ibrahim*, *Ibrahim* said: Oh, my son, I have seen in a dream that I must kill you as a sacrifice. Now what do you think! The Prophet *Ismail* said: O my brother, do as has been commanded you; you will find me of those who are patient. When they had embraced each other, and *Ismail* had lain down to be sacrificed, God called to them, saying: O *Ibrahim*, we have justified your dream; behold, how we will recompense those who have acted well! Behold here is the evident proof. We have paid the ransom of *Ismail* by sending a great sacrifice.

What is the real meaning of these verses from the Kuran? Haji Bektash Veli responded thus: The prophet *Ibrahim* is an allusion to the Spirit which is the true father; and the prophet *Ismail* is compared to the heart which is between the spirit and reason; and the archangel Gabriel is compared to reason which is the judge between the heart and the carnal soul. One may explain the beast of sacrifice as the carnal soul, whose apparent and spiritual desires one must annihilate, or the seeker of Reality cannot attain his purpose.[4]

[1] *Faide*, LXIII.
[2] *Faide*, LXVII.
[3] *Faide*, LXX.
[4] *Faide*, LXXI.

CHAPTER V

A BEKTASHI CATECHISM

The following is a translation of a Catechism entitled, " Some questions and answers which are necessary for members," *muhibana lazim olan bazı sual ve cevap*. It is an example of such " question and answer books," *sual ve cevap name*, as one frequently finds in the manuscript notebooks actually used by the Babas. Although its contents represent repetition of material given in the chapters on Doctrines and Practices it is inserted here in order to show the actual Bektashi formulation of their fundamental ideas[1] :

If they ask : How many are the ordinances, *ahkâm*, of the Way ? give answer : They are six—mystic knowledge, *marifet ;* generosity, *sahavet ;* fidelity, *sadakat ;* assured knowledge, *yakın ;* contemplation, *tefekkür ;* knowing that Reality is in oneself, *hakı özünde bilmek*.

If they ask : What is the *namaz*, " formal worship," of the Way ? answer : Cooking raw things to bring them to the *mürşit*.[2]

If they ask : What is the ablution of the Way ? the answer is given : Holding on to the skirt of the *mürşit*, forsaking all bad habits, becoming endowed with the praiseworthy qualities, to be always pure in heart.

If they ask : What is the fast of the Way ? The answer is given : To abstain from lying and speaking any harmful thing.

If they ask : What is the pilgrimage of the Way ? The answer is given : To enter into the heart of the *mürşit*.

If they ask : What is the alms of the Way ? The answer is given : It is the poverty of annihilation of self-consciousness, *fakrı fena*.

If they ask : What is the " good saying," *kelimei tayyibe ?* The answer is given : To completely affirm the Divine Reality.

[1] *Erk*. No. 4, pp. 15-22. In Bektashi Texts there is a *sual ve cevap name* covering 84 pages, and a similar book of 113 pages called *Fahırname*, " Book of Excellence." Even in answering the same question in similar manner the details often vary greatly. The text being translated is, as will be seen, a Bektashi-Hurufi text.

[2] Probably meaning the preliminary preparation of possible candidates for further instruction by the Baba.

If they ask: What is thy body, *vücut*, thy head, thy hair, thy forehead, the space between thy eyebrows, thy beauty, thy intuitive intelligence, thy mind, thy word, thy soul, thy tongue, thy heart, thy spirit, thy body, thy shoulders, thy hands, thy feet, thy throat, thy blood? The answer is given: The body is the earth and the sky, it means Muhammad Ali. The head is the Throne Most High, which is the point of the letter *be*. The long hairs are the trees. The forehead is the Preserved Tablet. The space between the eyebrows is the "Distance of two bows or even nearer" (Kur. 53:9). The face is the Beauty, *cemal*, of the Divine Reality. The intuitive intelligence, *akıl*, is Gabriel. The mind, *fikir*, is Azrail. The soul, *nefes*, is Israfil. The blood is Mikail. The word is the word of the Divine Reality. The tongue is the *Zülfikâr* of Ali. The heart is the house of the Divine Reality. The shoulders are the Mount Sinai of Moses. The hands are the Power, *kudret*, of the Divine Reality. The feet are the force, *kuvvet*, of the Divine Reality.

If they ask: Where were you? Where will you go? The answer is given: In the *Şeriat*, I was in the world of Spirit, *âlemi ervah*. I was to come from the Divine Reality. I came to the world. In the *Tarikat* I was in Adam. I was to come to the Three. I came to the Seven. I will go to the Forty. In the *Marifet*, I was in the Light. I was to come to my father. I came to my mother. I will go to the Light of the Divine Reality. In the *Hakikat*, I was in the Light of Ali, the dot of the letter *be*. I was to come to the letter *ayın*. I came to the letters *lam*, *elif*. I will go to the letter *ye*. The letter *ye* is the last of the twenty-eight letters. Its two dots are the sign of Muhammad Ali. Because, if one dot, it could not be known. From the dot the letter came into being. It was to explain the dot. Whereas it became the more lost. The secret of those twenty-eight letters is concealed in the beauty (i.e., the face) of man, and the perfection of a man is the appearing of Muhammad Ali. And those letters are the signs of the prophets who are the four patron saints, and of the family and children of the People of the House, *ehli beyt*, and are concealed in the beauty (the face) of man. And also in the face of man are the Four Gateways, and the four souls, and the four spirits, and the four worlds, and the four angels, and the four books, and the four letters. All of them make twenty-eight. And the seven black lines, and the fourteen white lines, and the seven hairs of *Halil* all together are twenty-eight. They are the sign for the thirty-two

letters, and the sign of the two sultans. And all existence is in these thirty-two letters and is known by means of them, and is spoken by means of them. And these thirty-two letters are connected with (lit., tied to) Muhammad Ali, his family and children. And all of them are present in one man, showing the lines which are in his beauty and written by the hand of the reed-pen of power, *hamei kudret*. First of all, the hair, the two eyebrows, the four eyelashes make seven.[1] They are all in order to find man. Even the rounds, *rekâtlar*, which are in the *namaz* explain man. The *namaz* is divided into three kinds, which are called the *namaz* of residence, that of travel, and the Friday *namaz*. The *namaz* of residence became (i.e., has in number of obligatory *rekat's* in one day) seventeen; that of travel, eleven; the Friday *namaz*, fifteen. Adding, the residence and travel *namaz'es* make twenty-eight, indicating the twenty-eight letters. If you add the residence and Friday *namaz'es* you get thirty-two, indicating the thirty-two letters. Behold, since the *namaz* shows the twenty-eight and thirty-two letters which are in the face of man, know them and worship, *secde ediniz*, man. Even in the *namaz* which is said at night the reading of the Kuran out loud is done because the beauty and perfection of man cannot be seen, whereas in the *namaz* of the day it is apparent and the Kuran is read inaudibly. That is, the meaning of night is the darkness of ignorance, and the meaning of day is the light of mystic knowledge. The imam who reads the Kuran addresses those who are in darkness and says: O ye blind, see the Divine Reality. Let me reveal him to you. For those who are in the light, since it is apparent to them, there is no need to so address them, consequently the Kuran is read inaudibly.

When you stand up, an *elif* is formed.
In bending behold a *dal* is made.
When you have prostrated, a *mim* takes shape.
That is, I tell you to perceive man (*adam*)
Standing, sitting, understanding man;
Open thine eye, they all show man.

So, in accordance with this, one must know himself and bow

[1] At this point there should evidently be inserted a detailed description of how in the face of man the members of the Holy Family are to be seen. The passage is omitted here, because of obscurity in the arrangement of the pages of my text, and also because the details have already been given under beliefs, p. 151, and will be found also in the description of the chart in Illustration No. 18.

down, *secde*, before man in order that you may carry out the command of God.

And if they ask: Why should one surrender oneself to the *mürşit* and be his slave? The answer is given: The *mürşit* draws his disciple out of the way of darkness and shows him the way of salvation, and afterward, in his soul going up to the Presence, the spirit being given to him, he causes him to attain to the Divine Essence, *hakikat*, i.e., to Muhammad Ali.

And if they ask: Where did you render allegiance and make confession? The answer is given: I gave confession in the *meydan* of the heroes, *erler*, before the Patron Saint, in the council, *divan*, of Muhammad Ali.

Or: When you gave confession where were your hand, your head, your eye, your ear? The answer is: My hand was on my head; my head in the hand of the guide, *rehber*; my eye observing the way of those who have attained, *erenler*; my ear listening to the advice of the Patron Saint. My confession was in Muhammad Ali, our Lord, the Twelve Imams, the Fourteen Pure Innocents. I myself was in the place of the gallows, *dar*, my face on the ground, my eye on the way of the *eren's*.

If they ask: What do the words *şeriat, tarikat, marifet, hakikat* mean? The answer is: *Şeriat* means to put into effect the conditions of Islam. *Tarikat* has five letters. The meaning of *tı* is seeking, *talep*; the meaning of *re* is discipline, *riyazat*; *ya* is the vocative letter of calling on the Divine Reality; *kaf* means contentment, *kanaat*; *ta* means self-surrender, *tesellum*. That is, *tarikat* means seeking for and calling out to the Divine Reality, finally finding Him, obtaining peace and contentment, and surrendering oneself. *Marifet* also has five letters. *Mim* means mystic knowledge of Allah, *marifetullah*. *Ya* means perfect understanding, *aklı kâmil* and knowledge of divine providence, *ilmi ledun*. That is, the meaning of *mim* is Muhammad, and of *ya* Ali. They mean to know them. The meaning of *fa* is annihilation of self-consciousness in God, *fena fillah*. *Ta* means repentance, *tövbe*. *Hakikat* also has five letters. *Ha* means distinguishing between what is canonically lawful and what is unlawful, *helâl ve haram*. *Kaf* means endurance, *kiyam*. *Ya* means helping, *yardım*, in every way possible a brother of the way, *yol*. The other *kaf* means knowing that the Divine Reality is existent in everything, *kaim*. *Ta* means the forsaking of all that is other than God, *terki ma siva*.

If they ask: What is the building of the *Tarikat?* (The

answer is) Standing firmly in one's profession. The obligation, *makam*, of the *tarikat* is sixfold—repentance, *tövbe*; endurance, *kiyam*; ascetic abstinence, *zuhd*; piety, *takva*; peace and contentment, *kanaat*; devotional retirement, *uslet*.

If they ask: What is there on your head, your eyebrow, in your eye, your nose, your ear, your mouth, your breast, your hand, your tongue, your waist, your feet? The answer is: On my head is the Crown of high estate, *tacı devlet*; in my eyebrow is the Pen of Power, *kalemi kudret*; in my eye is the light of saintship, *nuru vilayet*; in my ear is the call to prayer of Muhammad, *bangı Muhammet*; in my nose is the fragrance of paradise, *buyaı cennet*; in my mouth is confession of faith, *iman*; in my breast is the Kuran of wisdom, *Kuranı hikmet*; in my hand is the hand of the Ever-Living God, *desti hay*; around my waist is the girdle of the right guidance, *kemeri hidayet*; on my tongue is the confession, *ikrar*; in my feet is service, *hizmet*; at my back is the appointed time of death, *ecel*; before me is (my) lot in life, *nasip*.

If they ask: Whose son are you in the *şeriat*, *tarikat*, *marifet*, *hakikat*? The answer is: In the *şeriat* my father is Adam, my mother is Eve; in the *tarikat* I am the son of the Way; in *marifet*, I am the son of perfection; in *hakikat*, the sky is my father, the earth is my mother.

Chapter VI

BEKTASHIISM IN ITS RELATION TO OTHER FAITHS

It has been said again and again throughout the course of this study that Bektashiism is a composite, eclectic system of faith and practice. Beginning as the natural growth of a people's religion in the thirteenth century, additional elements have been added from time to time. It would be interesting to take each element, each tradition, and trace it back to its source. Such a procedure at times would prove fruitful. Frequently, however, it might lead away into the by-paths of mere conjecture based on external resemblances. The same idea or form of worship often has independent origins in different times and places. A point of striking similarity is no proof of dependent connection. And yet such points of resemblance may have at all times great propaganda value. The fact that there were Twelve Imams, Twelve Disciples and Twelve Tribes of Israel offered rich opportunity for an apologetic that could win both Moslem and Christian whose symbols and terms had double meanings. A custom could easily arise that had a double or a triple origin in different systems. Its power of appeal was the greater for its ability to establish contact in several directions. For the invading nomadic Turk the *aynicem* may have had as its prototype the song feast in the Shaman place of worship, the *sıgır*, the *şulen*, and the *yug*[1]; for the local Anatolian only partially Christianized it may have seemed to be a clear development of the Sacrament of Communion. The social freedom with which women were accepted may have been an inheritance both of pre-Islamic Turkish social custom and Christian usage as well. Dr. White, who studied the village Alevis at close hand, uniformly found them warmly friendly towards Christians. They saw a common revelation of God, in Jesus to Christians, and in Ali to them.[2] One might go on almost indefinitely pointing out the possibility of a double origin of a belief or a practice. The fact may always still be that the

[1] A description of these is given in *Fuat Bey's Türk Edebiyatının Menşei* in *Milli Tetebbüler Mecmuası*, vol. 2, no. 4, Sept., 1331.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, Nov., 1913, p. 697.

real origin is to be found elsewhere. It is the point of resemblance, however, to something already known that made easier the task of winning by the hundreds of thousands that varied population which mingled together on the social frontiers of Anatolia from the thirteenth century on. We will, therefore, content ourselves in this chapter mainly with showing the points of resemblance between the beliefs and practices of the Bektashis and corresponding beliefs and practices in other faiths.

1. *The Village Alevis*

Since we have so often stressed the basic oneness of Bektashiism with the religion of the village groups of Alevis we will begin with that relationship and briefly outline the many points at which the two groups are on common ground.

To begin with, the chief ceremony of each is the *aynicem.* It is held in both cases in a *meydan* so arranged as to present striking resemblances. *Baha Sait Bey*, in his articles in *Türk Yurdu,*[1] gives drawings illustrating the common basis of ritual. Both *meydan's* have the *eşik* or threshold which is revered by both. Both have the *ocak* or hearth, the permanently lighted candle in both cases sometimes called the *çırağı Ali*, "the candle of Ali." Then, too, both also have the throne bearing other candles, and the corresponding symbolic "awakening the souls" in a candle-lighting service. Both have the special sheepskins for the positions of *mürşit* and *rehber*. *Gözcü's*, or "guards," are on duty in both cases. Both know the *peymençe* term and location. Both have Twelve Services.[2] Both use Turkish in their ritual and employ the terms *gülbenk* and *terceman.* Both have a *sema* which is danced to the tune of music played on *saz'es* or stringed instruments (not *ney's* as in the case of the *Mevlevi's*). Both sing, not only *nefes'es* but the same *nefes'es*, those of *Hatayı* and *Turabı* being among the popular ones. Both use *sakiler*, or "cup-bearers," to pass in a ceremonial way the *dem*, or symbolic liquor. Both require the *sahib* and *musahib*, companions in initiation. Both admit women on an equality.

In addition to the basic *Aynicem*, both groups have a similar fast in Muharrem and a similar service at *Nevruz*, a service of forgiveness of sin, *baş okutması*, or *mağfireti zünüp*, and both employ a kind of excommunication, *düşkünlük*, in case of extreme penalty.

[1] Vol. 4, no. 22, Oct., 1926, p. 326, 327.
[2] *Ilah. Fak. Mec.*, 5th year, no. 19, p. 69.

The ceremonies, though differing in detail, are common to both in principle. Both use the same books: The *Faziletname*, the *Hüsniye*, the *Noktatül Beyan*, *Hutbetül Beyan*, *Miratül-Mekasit*, and above all the traditions and sayings of Haji Bektash Veli as reported in the two *vilayetname's*.[1] In general, all the village groups, the Kizilbash, *Yürük's* and the *Abdal's* recognized the authority of the *Çelebi's* who resided at the Haji Bektash *Tekke*. The *Çepni's* and *Tahtaci's*, while not so recognizing the authority of the central tekke still revered the name and the spiritual leadership of Haji Bektash Veli as much as did the Bektashis themselves.[2]

Both groups had similar beliefs in Ali and the Twelve Imams. Both united the words Muhammad Ali as if the name of one person. Both again united these two in a Trinity with Allah, of which apparently among the *Tahtaci's* the sign of the *kaz ayağı*, or "goose's foot," was worn as a symbol.[3] Both acknowledged themselves as of the *mezhep*, or sect, of *Cafer Sadık*. Hurufi influences, expressed in special meanings in letters and numbers, were at work in both. The identical, or very similar, prayer of *Nadı Ali* was used by both. Saints' tombs played a similar part, and the prayers for help from departed saints reflect the same attitude. Both groups revered the same great characters, *Selmani Farisi*, the companion of Muhammad and Ali; *Kamber*, the groom of Ali; *Seyit Battal Gazi*, the frontier warrior in Asia Minor, etc.

Although this makes no pretence of being a complete statement of resemblance it is enough to show how common the foundation is to both the regularly organized Bektashis, and the village groups. The Bektashis looked down upon the village groups and called them *Sofu's*. The difference, however, was one simply of refinement, as the tekkes in and near towns came more and more to draw upon the upper classes of the Empire. Admission to membership in a Bektashi tekke was voluntary, each individual joining on his own initiative, whereas in the village it was expected that all would belong, each individual going through the rites as he or she attained the proper age.

2 *Sunni Islam*

The entire discussion of the *Şeriat* Gateway to religious knowledge is an indication of the part Sunni Islam played in

[1] See *Ilah. Fak. Mec.*, 4th year, no. 15, p. 78.
[2] Ibid., no. 20, p. 64, 65.
[3] Ibid., no. 13, p. 77.

Bektashi life and thought. Muhammad was honoured with the lips and doubtless from the heart, but Ali was enthroned in the heart. The Kuran, as has been seen, was constantly quoted, but always with a special interpretation. Sunni Islam was but a cloak covering the essential Shii and pantheistic character of the Bektashi faith.

3. *Shii Islam*

The part played by this branch of Islamic thought is already clear. A knowledge of the names of the Twelve Imams was fundamental to all. Ali was revered as the chief of the Saints. His place was so exalted that even the denial of divinity leaves one suspecting *takiye*, or "dissimulation." More extreme than the Shiis themselves, they mourned Ali and his sons in Muharrem and glorified the birth of Ali at New Years. *Tevellâ* and *teberrâ* were taught as strongly as such teachings can be taught through song, verse, and actual instruction in the formal initiation rite.

4. *Shamanism*

Although doubtless other points of resemblance might be discovered, there are seven respects in which Bektashiism resembles the old belief and practice of the Asiatic background.[1]

First: unveiled women participated in the formal worship.

Second: mystic hymns, the *nefes'es*, came to take the place of the incantations of the Shamans.

Third: the *sema*, or ritual dance, resembles the ecstatic dance of the Shaman.

Fourth: the sacrifice of the sheep or ram at the *aynicem* is reminiscent of the custom of sacrificing cattle among the Asiatic Turks.

Fifth: the miracles performed by the saints, the metamorphosis from a human into a bird, the flying through the air, etc., are similar to the stories of saints in Chinese Turkestan.

Sixth: other legends of the saints show a type of folk-lore that is common to Bektashiism, and to the Buddhist influence which entered Shamanism through Tibet and Chinese Turkestan.

Seventh: sacred places, and particularly sacred trees are common to both. In the case of individual Bektashis as, for

[1] For the best discussion of this relationship see *Fuat Bey's Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans*," Istanbul, 1929. The above outline is taken from this study. The notes in *Fuat Bey's* monograph give elaborate detail as to sources of further information.

example, *Barak Baba*, a still further influence is apparent—in the wearing of a *tac* with two horns, the use of birds for mounts in travel, the shaved beard, and the long moustache.

We have already noted that the reverence for the threshold is exactly similar to the attitude of the Mongols of Central Asia.

5. *Neo-Platonism*

The mystical philosophy of *tasavvuf*, as it occurs in Bektashiism as well as in Islam in general, is in large part an inheritance from the Neo-Platonists. The conception of an ultimate unknowable Godhead causing the world of differentiated beings to emanate from himself; the appearing first of *aklı kül* and then of *nefsi kül*, "universal intelligence" and "universal soul," are the reflection of Plotinus' trinity of the Absolute, Spirit or Intelligence, and Soul. Still more definitely the tradition which in Bektashiism and Islamic mysticism generally is put into the mouth of God: "I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known," is said to have originated with the Neo-Platonists.[1] The tradition, "He who knows himself knows also his Lord," according to De Boer,[2] "is an inversion of an idea found in pseudo-Plato Alcibiades (129ff.); it reached the Arabs through the medium of Neo-Platonism." The tradition is found in *Ibn Sina*, in his *Gift to the Prince*, and in *Muhyiddini Arabı*[3] through whom probably it came to the Bektashis and the other mystics of Turkey. The conception of a veil, *hicap*, covering the appearance of the Divine Reality, the necessity of overcoming one's own fleshly desires, of rising above the mere perception of the senses to an awareness of the spiritual world, and the idea of arriving at an ecstatic state in which the individual loses consciousness of his individuality, *fena*,[4] and gains an ineffable sense of existence in God, *baka*, are all expressions of the Neo-Platonic thought conveyed to the Bektashi largely through the writings of *Muhyiddini Arabı* and *Celaleddin Rumı*. Pythagoras' idea "that the soul is immortal; that it is transformed into other kinds of living beings; that whatsoever comes into existence is born again in revolutions of a certain cycle; that nothing is absolutely new; and that all living beings should be treated as akin to each other,"[5] all have their reflection in one form or another in Bektashi thought.

[1] *Encyclopedia of Islam*, article "Khalk."
[2] *Encyclopedia of Rel. and Ethics*, article "Soul."
[3] *Fususül Hikâmi*, Cairo, 1321, p. 47.
[4] See Glossary, word *fena*, for actual origin of the terms in *Bayazid Bistami*.
[5] Inge's *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, II, 6.

The idea of metempsychosis, believed by many Bektashis, is found also both in Plato and Plotinus.[1] In Plato is to be found the idea described under the Doctrine of the *Mürşit*, that a book cannot be known without a living teacher to interpret it.[2] This idea, however, is essentially characteristic of any Oriental, "who cannot imagine a man without a teacher as being anything else than a disciple of Satan."[3] The idea of the perfect man *Insanı Kâmil*, and of the Spiritual Hierarchy of the Forty Abdals find their origin also in Plato.[4]

At many a point the Faithful Brethren of Basra through their *Encyclopædia of Sciences* (c. 373/983) taught doctrines of a Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic nature which later appear among the Bektashis. Submissive obedience to the spiritual teacher, the advance to an experience of essential reality of things (*hakikat*) through four stages, the right to reinterpret the crude expressions of the Kuran in a spiritual sense, the emanation away from God and the final return to Him, all are found in strikingly similar form in the two systems. Even the ideas associated with Hurufiism, of finding God's nature revealed in twenty-eight letters, and of discovering that number by any use of a four multiplied by a seven are to be found in the teachings of these Brethren and may have reached the Bektashis at times and in ways in some measure at least independent of *Fazlullah*.[5]

6. *Christianity*

In the case of Christianity it is not so easy to feel sure of a dependent connection. In many a case where resemblance is most close the real origin may have been from another direction. Even then the similarity of idea may have effectively served to draw in Christians and to make them feel at home within the order. The following list of resemblances is, therefore, given not with any claim as to origin, but only to show that in Bektashiism there was a system outwardly Moslem, but inwardly of so eclectic a nature as to make it possible for a primitive type of Christian in either Asia Minor or Albania to reconcile his old beliefs and practices with an external situation where outward acceptance of

[1] Augustine's *City of God*, Bk. x, 30; *Phaedrus*, 248, 249; Inge's *Philos. of Plotinus*, II, 32ff.
[2] See e.g. in Loeb's Class Lib., *Phaedrus*, p. 553 and 563 ff.
[3] De Boer's *Philosophy in Islam* (1903 ed.), 28.
[4] *Phaedrus*, 249, 246.
[5] For a good discussion of these Brethren see De Boer's *Philosophy in Islam*, 81-96.

Islam may have seemed necessary. Not only Greek and Albanian Christians but many of the descendants of the millions of Turks who at one time were Nestorian Christians may in this way have been absorbed into the Bektashi system.

In the first place there are striking parallels to be found between the seven sacraments as practised in the Eastern Church and the practices of the Bektashis.

(1) Baptism, with its accompanying formula, as a sign of cleansing and of abolition of all sins previously contracted, closely resembles the rite of *abdest*, or ablution, with its accompanying formula preceding the *aynicem*.

(2) Chrism, or anointing with ointment, the equivalent of the Western sacrament of confirmation, finds a parallel in the anointing with rose water and the accompanying initiation service.

(3) Holy Eucharist; not only is the use of wine and bread in symbol of Christ's death like the use of both in the *aynicem* in memory of *Hüseyin's* sufferings, but in both cases only the confirmed or initiated are allowed to participate in the rite.

(4) The priesthood corresponds to the celibate Babas. The spiritual authority of the priest, and especially of the monastic superior over the monk, is like the spiritual authority of the Baba acting as *mürşit*![1] The rite of piercing the ear in token of utter surrender of self as a celibate may have been suggested to *Balım Sultan* by Deuteronomy xv. 17, where among the Jews a similar rite was the sign of voluntary slavery for life. (It will be remembered that *Balım's* mother was a Christian.)

(5) Penitence resembles the service of *Baş okutmak* or *Mağfireti zünüp*. Excommunication as practised in the Christian Church also finds its parallel in *düşkünlük* in Bektashiism.

(6) Honourable Marriage in presence of a priest finds a ready correspondence in the Bektashi practice of marriage performed by the Baba.

(7) For the seventh sacrament, Unction, I have found no parallel in Bektashiism.

In the second place it has already been pointed out that Christ's reference to the Paraclete is interpreted by Bektashis as a reference not only to Muhammad but also to *Fazlullah*. The House of the Tabernacle in Exodus xxvi. has been described as

[1] Prof. Levonian calls my attention to the fact that in the Greek Orthodox Church the superior in a Greek monastery exercises authority over the monk in almost the exact terms used to describe the *mürşit's* authority on p. 101, n. 1.

having special meaning for the Bektashi-Hurufi. Its eleven curtains of twenty-eight cubits and bearing fifty loops have been shown to prove a connecting link between Moses and *Fazlullah*.

On the walls of *meydan's* in Albania no picture was more commonly found than a print bearing in large letters the separate Arabic letters with which the nineteenth *sure* of the Kuran begins, and these large letters were made out of an arranged writing of the whole chapter which tells the Muhammadan version of the birth and early life of Jesus.

The Twelve Imams which are symbolized in so many ways, especially in the twelve flutings of the *teslim tası*, are said by Bektashis themselves to stand also for the Twelve Disciples, and we will see in the section on Illustrations (no. 6) that one interpretation is in terms of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

The Virgin Birth of Jesus has a parallel in the story of *Balım's* birth.

Haji Bektash himself is considered by many to be a reincarnation of St. Choralambos; and support of at least some Christian connection might be found by showing parallels in Bektash's experience with Bible narrative. In the *Menakıp Vilayetname* he uses the device of plagues against the inhabitants of *Bedahşan* as Moses did against Pharaoh. He borrows meal from a poor woman, only to have her store made unfailing as in the story of Elijah. He brings forth water from a stone, and in sending out *Sarı Saltık* as a missionary he uses language reminiscent of Jesus: "Lo, I am with you always," *her kande isen biz sana yoldaşız,*[1] "wherever you are we will be a companion to you."

Virani Baba uses Johannine language when he positively asserts that a man must be born again in order to attain to God. Dr. White suggests that the Bektashi refusal to eat the hare is in obedience to Leviticus xi. 6.[2]

To Christians of a primitive type the Bektashi trinity of God, Muhammad and Ali may have looked like the Christian Trinity under other and, for the time being, safer names. The tekke in some respects, especially among the celibate Bektashis, resembles a monastery. The *Elifi Tac* certainly so closely resembles a

[1] MS. copy 75b.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, no. 1933, p. 697. The present writer, however, questions if there is a causal connection here. The Bektashi does more than just refrain from eating the hare. He abhors the hare; he does not want to touch or even see it. The camel is also forbidden as food in Lev. XI: 4, but there is no such attitude among Bektashis toward that animal.

Bishop's mitre as to compel one's notice. The *tiğbent* is very like the girdle of the Christian monk. One can easily imagine a friendly Baba pointing out to inquiring Christians these points of resemblance and so winning to the order many who, cut off from Christian leadership, would easily move at home in the ritual and symbolism of the Bektashi order. This process would be especially easy if we imagine the population of Asia Minor in the thirteenth century as only superficially Christianized, a large part of the people descended from that original stock which Sir William Ramsay thought was in character and language related to the Old Turkish.[1]

There are many other points of resemblance which one would like to investigate further. Did the Zoroastrian use of the girdle as a symbol of a devotion to a life of religion have any influence on either the *tiğbent* or the *kamberiye?* Is there any relation between the Bektashi attainment to ecstasy through music, dancing and the drinking of wine, and the mystic rites of Dionysius, the Thracian God both of wine and of religious ecstasy? Such questions at present seem incapable of being even scientifically investigated. They are rather in the realm of conjecture. But they serve to give some idea of how in Bektashiism influences from a hundred directions might in that plastic thirteenth century meet and gradually find expression in a growth of a people's religion as natural as the growth of a forest with its almost innumerable species of plant life.[2]

[1] See above page 26, n. 2.

[2] To see how elements of belief and practice inherited from a varied ancestry influenced all the people of Asia, Christians and Moslems as well, in the early years of this century see G. E. White's very excellent article "Survivals of Primitive Religion among the People of Asia Minor," *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XXXIX (1907), pp. 146ff.

PART II

SUPPLEMENT I

THE CEREMONY OF NEW YEARS. *NEVRUZ.*

In accordance with a custom inherited from the Persians, New Year's Day has among the Turks of Anatolia been considered the day on which Spring begins. It has therefore been observed at the time of the equinox, the ninth day of March, Greek style.[1] According to the common Bektashi belief this is the birthday of Ali. Largely on account of this fact, therefore, this day has come to be observed with a special ceremony among the Bektashis. The following is a translation of a manuscript record of the prayers said on this day[2]:

HU!

God is most great, God is most great, there is no God but Allah,
God is most great, God is most great, and praise belongs to God.
(9 times.)

"The intention of *Nevruz,* which enkindles happiness."

I have become wine-red (*meygün*) visiting the Fourteen Pure Innocents, for the sake of myself, for the sake of my father and mother, and for the sake of brothers and sisters, and for the sake of all men and women believers, and Moslem men and women.

"The turn of approaching to God Most High."

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Peace be upon thee, O apostle of God; peace be upon thee, O beloved of God; peace be upon thee, O prophet of God; peace be upon thee, O trusted one of God; peace be upon thee, O thou best of God's creation; peace be upon thee, O Muhammad the son of Abdullah; peace be upon thee, O saint of God; peace be upon thee, O proof, *hüccet,* of God; peace be upon thee, O power of of God; peace be upon thee, O true faith, *sıbgat,* of God; peace be upon thee, O Imam of the pious; peace be upon thee, O

[1] *Kamusu Türkı.*
[2] For an interesting *nefes* in praise of *Nevruz* see *B.Ş.*, p. 77.

commander of the believers; peace be upon thee, O thou legatee of the Faithful Apostle; peace be upon thee, O *Fatimatüzzehra*; peace be upon thee, O thou lady of the women of the two worlds; peace be upon thee, O thou Hadije the very great, the mother of believers; peace be upon thee, O Muhammad el Zeki; peace be upon thee, O *Imam Hasan* the specially selected; peace be upon thee, O father of Abdullah; peace be upon thee, O son of the apostle of God; peace be upon thee, O thou son of the commander of the believers; peace be upon thee, O thou son of *Fatimatüzzehra*; peace be upon thee, O *Imam Hüseyin* the martyr, the forsaken, the tortured one in Kerbela; peace be upon thee, and thy grandfather and thy father, and thy mother, and thy brother and upon the nine after thee, and upon thy generation, and thy assistants, and thy party, *şiah*, and thy friends; and the mercy of God and His blessings and peace be upon the prophets and His angels who are allowed to approach near, and all the saints of God.

"May God bless and grant peace to our master
Mohammed and his family and his friends."
(twice.)

We take refuge in God from Satan the stoned,
In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

He it is who sent his apostle with the guidance and the religion of the truth, "that he might make it victorious over every other religion"[1] and "God is thy sufficing witness"[2] Mohammed the apostle of God. God the very great speaketh truth.

God said in the divine tradition:

"I was a hidden treasure, and I wished to be known, (so) I took a handful of my light and said unto it, 'Be thou my beloved Mohammed.'" The apostle of God speaketh truth.

Permission, *destur*.

Master of the Universe, the pride of all beings, the chief of the creation, the blessing of earth and heaven, the beloved of the Creator of all beings, the grandfather (ancestor) of the two *Hassans* the most beautiful, the father of the honourable *Kasim*, to *Ahmed* and *Mahmud* and *Muhammad* and *Mustafa* be salutations. (Twice.)

"O God, bless and grant peace to our master
Muhammad and his family and his friends."

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate and All-Forgiving. "And we did not send thee except as a mark of

[1] Kur. 9:33. [2] Kur. 4:81.

mercy for all creatures."[1] God the Very Great, speaketh truth. The Apostle of God said:

"I am given as the cause of mercy." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

(The following ten lines are in Persian—)

This pure torch, the Beloved of God, became bright
He became the beloved palace of union with the Lord who is without why or wherefore.
God magnified his great glory.
Gabriel brought for his honour a hundred praises without number.
Verily he came in revelation as the cause of grace for all worlds,
Because the Creator of earth and heaven commanded his being thus magnified,
Keeper of the revelation of God and of the treasury of divine science,
Chief of both palaces (*du sera*[2]) and highest of the saints.
For the sake of the Pride of the world, and the People of the house
Make this hour blessed for the believers, Our Lord.

Permission, O thou who art a mark of mercy for all creatures, O Apostle of God.
I beseech thee, O thou who art the master of all creatures, O God's beloved.
I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"By the noon-day brightness and by the night when it darkeneth! thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath he been displeased. And surely the future shall be better for thee than the past. And in the end shall thy Lord be bounteous to thee and thou be satisfied. Did he not find thee an orphan and give thee a home? And found thee erring and guided thee, and found thee needy and enriched thee. As to the orphan, therefore wrong him not, and as to him that asketh of thee, chide him not away; and as for the favours of thy Lord tell them abroad."[3] God the very great speaketh truth. God Most High said in the holy tradition: "Except for thee I would not have created the spheres." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

The Apostle of God said: "God chose Ismail from the sons of Abraham, and from the sons of Ismail chose Beni-Kettanet, and from Beni-Kettanet chose *Kariş*, and from *Kariş* chose *Beni-Haşim* and chose me from *Beni-Haşim* (the sons of *Haşim*)." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

[1] Kuran 21 : 107.
[2] i.e., this world and the next.
[3] Kur. 93.

Greeting, O thou who art the chief of both worlds, the king of religion.
Greeting, O thou king of all the world, and token of mercy to all creatures.
The cause of the invention of this world is thy pure person.
It is this that is understood by the meaning of " Except for thee, (*levlaka*) " ; that is certain.
All things read thy pure name together with the name of the Divine Reality.
With love the Trusty Spirit (Angel Gabriel) prostrates himself at thy door.
The saints and apostles have need of thee.
It is the very duty of every soul to believe like this.
Therefore, O leader, thou hast become foremost of all,
Thou who wast a saint when man was in the midst of mud and water
It is the ray of thy light, indeed, which fills the world with light,
O thou exalted in saintship who art first and last.
The great height of the Tuba tree [1] is in honour of thy height.
Is not the well-known water of *Kevser* the saliva of thy mouth ?
That water of life which is a flow from thee, O light of God,
It is the people of mystic knowledge, *ehli irfan*, who are its life-giving fountain-head.
The truth is that thy body is free from all shadow,
Because only that it always receives mercy from the Divine Reality
The *Sure* of *Subhan* [2] relates thy ascent in the Mid-night Journey
O thy beauty, the brightness of the day and the night are made timid by thy hair.
Thy face is the *Kible* of the meaning of Reality, O thou best of mankind,
Therefore thy threshold is the place of worship for the perfect.
To soul and brain from thy abode comes the perfume of paradise,
That holy and pure house of thine is the highest paradise.
All tongues are silent, unable to describe thy great nature,
The mind which sees small things fails to understand thy perfections.
Ahmed and Mahmud, Abu-Kasim, Muhammad Mustafa,
The son of *Abu-Talip, Şah Ali Mürtaza.*

O our God, mayest thou grant approval and peace and blessing to our master and our support and our apostle Muhammad and Ali and *Fatma* and *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* and his virtuous children, and the honourable people of his house, and all his pure friends.

[1] Name of a tree in Paradise, a branch of which will enter the mansion of each inhabitant with flowers and fruit of every kind. (Redhouse.)
[2] Kuran 17, called sometimes the *Sure* of the Night Journey.

The Apostle of God said: "The mention of Ali is prayer."
The Apostle of God speaketh truth.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou token of mercy to all creatures
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou master of the two races.[1]
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou imam of the two Kible's,
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou owner of the two sacred places.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou master of apostles,
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou refuge of believers.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou saint, the first and the last,
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou beloved of the lovers.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou master of masters.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou seal of the two saintships.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou grandfather of the two *Hasans*.[2]
Prayer and peace be upon thee, O thou owner of the station of the praiseworthy one, *Mahmud*.
Prayer and peace be upon thee, And thou who art (text illegible)
In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Said the prophet, may God bless and grant him peace: "May God visit him who visiteth me. Peace be on him. I am the city of learning and Ali is its door-way. Whosoever has me as his lord, has Ali as his lord." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

Destur.

May God give his blessing, O friends, *muhiban*, *Nevruz* the faithful has come,
That is the anniversary of the king of kings, of palace and of the brightness of day,
The wisdom of God has now become evident,
Those who dwell on the high throne have come to the condition of joy, ecstasy and dancing.
The high mercy of God becoming manifest,
Verily all earth and heaven became filled with light.
The light of the Divine Reality has covered all the world.
Heaven scattered light like the dawn.
An angel came and saluted me,
He raised my fame above the exalted ones,
He said: "This night the king of religion is being born,
The dweller on the highest throne is awaiting."
The trusty Gabriel gave the good news,
Heaven and earth, and east and west grew merry,
His pure name is *Ali-ul-Mürtaza*
"Thy flesh is my flesh," (said) the highest apostle.

[1] i.e., mankind and the jinni.
[2] i.e., *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*.

After that there came to me three beauties,
Each one was like an houri, kind in nature,
They were *Asiye*,[1] and *Meryem* and *Havva*
Pleasantly they spoke like the nightingale.
They greeted my pure burden.
They took pride in my service
That moment the wall of *Harem* split open
All three of them gave a hundred salutations.
Then came to me a fever,
They gave me a cup of clear *Kevser*
I drank in truth that delicious (water) of wisdom,
I became well, I underwent no distress.
My body became without doubt the fountain of mercy
Then lightning flashed and lights appeared.

"O God, bless our lord Muhammad and the family of Muhammad."

Came then an angel of the Paradise sublime
He rubbed my back with all respect.

"O God, bless our lord Muhammad and the family of Muhammad."

At that hour was born the lion of God
Heaven and earth were filled with light.

"O God, bless our lord Muhammad and the family of Muhammad."

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Said the Prophet, on whom be praise and peace: "Ali is my brother in this world and in the other. Thou art to me like Aaron to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

(The congregation to be seated.)

As soon as that king of the world was born
At once he prostrated himself in worship to God
I took him in my arms and paid my respect.
He understood my speech, I gave him honour.
He kept saying: "O creator of the world and space
Grant me Thy victory."
He had compassion upon his people the moment he was born.
How can there be an equal to that unmixed mercy?
Doubtless because he is himself pure mercy,
He showed compassion for the world the moment he was born.

Greet and praise the sun of the day
Greet and praise the full moon of the night.

O God, bless and grant peace and blessing to our master and

[1] The wife of Pharaoh, who, according to Muhammedan tradition, drew Moses from the river and protected him.

our support and our Apostle Muhammad, and *Fatma*, and *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*, and his virtuous children, and his honourable household, and his pure friends.

(The foregoing recited all together).

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Said the Prophet, may God bless and grant him peace: " Thou art to me like the head of my body. I and Ali are two lights from the light of God."

The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

She took the new-born one and brought him to her house
Astonishment came over all the neighbours
When *Abu-Talip* saw him, he was content;
For he had not seen a boy like his own son
His mother said to him: O thou father of the child,
And I took him and named him Lion.
At that moment the new-born saint spoke.
I also named my son Ali.
All the relatives and acquaintances came
They offered their congratulations for the new-born.
In the home his arrival was a good omen;
They talked much about this matter.
Muhammad Mustafa came to show honour
He took the child confidently into his arms.
He said to him: Welcome, O best of children;
Welcome, son of *Fatma*, daughter of Essed;
Welcome, O newly-appeared pure light.
Welcome, O thou cup-bearer of the pure cup.
Welcome, O thou forerunner of the exalted dynasty;
Welcome, O thou exalted adornment of friends.
The mother of the child complained;
She said: " He did not let anybody nurse him."
Mustafa put his lip into the child's mouth,
At once the child sucked the lip with eagerness.
Those who were present were astonished at this condition,
They let the ship of thought wander in the ocean of astonishment.
He said: "He is to be strong-handed, he is a lion, *Haydar*";
Another human is not to be found with this fate.
From Mustafa he took the name, *Haydar*, lion;
Also he sucked his lip and found his desire.
If thou wishest to be near to the Prophet,
Take refuge in *Haydar* with thy heart and soul.

Greet and praise the best of men;
And in the secrets of Ali who is of exalted nature.

Come near O thou fervent lover at heart
With sorrow always is the heart passionately burning.
Listen to this eloquent poem,
That it may be good medicine for that ailing love.

Truly limitless is the praise of the saint ;
Increasingly auspicious are the epithets of Ali.
Taking up my pen to write I determined to join myself to him
Otherwise my power to explain would not have sufficed.
I guard this threshold morning and evening,
It is a sick beggar, the hand of a man,
Let us begin our speech in this manner,
Depending upon the grace of *Ahmed* and *Ali*.
His parents ended their lives,
He was left alone at the age of ten.
The excellent *Mustafa* became his guardian
Mürtaza was brought up in his *Harem*.
He gained favour and approval,
And became the son-in-law of the prophet of God's greatness.
The Apostle said : "Thy body is my body."
Attain to the meaning of this symbol through (mystic) knowledge ;
Two buds of a hundred-leaf light
Made their appearance out of the tree of the Rose-garden of divine manifestation.
That is to say, God created the king of Saintship ;
He specially made him a mirror of his person on high ;
The sun became the incense burner, the moon the lamp holder,
While Jupiter eagerly tells the story, *hutbe*, of the birth,
Gabriel caused the holy ones to wear the robe of happiness, *mevlut ;*
Each one offered congratulations and praise to one another.
The eyes of the houris became affected by this glee ;
The noise of glee and mirth filled the high Paradise.
Praise be to God, we have become subject to such a king,
In whose shade we find favour and gifts every instant.

O thou, the changer of all conditions,
Change our condition to the best of conditions.

Let us praise greatly the Apostle of God and his family
Drink this milk and sherbet so that thy spiritual benefit, *feyz*, may always increase.

(At this point sherbet is drunk.)

Pardon, *O Abu-Kasim*, O *Muhammad Mustafa*, intercede for us, and be generous and good to us for the sake of thyself and *Ali* and *Fatma* and *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. God, who is hallowed and exalted, has said in a holy tradition, *hadisül-kudsı* : If all men had united in loving *Ali* the son of *Ebu Talib*, I would not have created the fire (of hell).

Destur.

Speak, O tongue, of the secret of God,
For the light of guidance to the world is born.
Give life anew to the people of faith ;

With mirth like the nightingale speak subtleties;
From the abode of thy beloved bring pleasant odour;
Be merciful, O thou soul-expanding breeze.
Give us news of the birth of the lion of God;
Make all souls and all the world happy.
When there was no Tablet, and no Pen, no heaven or earth,
(When) there were no prophets or saints,
God took a handful of his light.
He said: O light, be *Ali El Mürtaza.*
After that, that holy light of the saints,
Became a continuous praiser of God.
From this light all the divinely decreed things
Were created and became visible and flourished.
After that God, the Lord, created Adam,
So that what was sought might come into being from him.
The holy light of *Mürtaza*, God, the Absolute,
Made known in the face of Adam.
It remained in Adam for many years;
After that it was transferred to Eve.
After that, the glorious holy light
Came to Seth's forehead and gave beauty.
It came to *Ibrahim Halil* with gladness;
It became very important in the world.
Also the honoured sacrifice *Ismail*
He made the highest in creation.
In this way, that light, the mirror of God,
Filled with light many a holy person.
Whoever it reached, at once
Honour and fame in that person would appear.
Haşim he made the best of the *Kureyş*;
Within Mekke he became the king of glory and honour.
Until it came to *Abdülmuttalib*,
By the grace of God it found in him two ways.
At that instant the one light split into two,
They came to two persons by the command of God.
One of them made its dwelling place in Abdullah;
The other became a refuge to Abu Talib.
One is Ahmed Muhammad Mustafa,
One is *Haydar Ali El Mürtaza*,
Whoever sees Abu-Talib without hypocrisy
He would say: May my soul be a sacrifice to thee.
After that to the mother of the pure one,
Was transferred that light of the chief of the saints.
They all waited wondering at what hour
Perfect mercy would be born.

Greet and praise the sun of the day
Greet and praise the full moon of the night.

O God grant approval and peace and blessing to our master

and our support and our Apostle Muhammad, and Ali, and *Fatma*, and *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*, and his virtuous children, and his honourable household, and his pure friends.

(All together.)

God Most High and Most Praiseworthy said:

"Enter the gate with prostrations; then will we pardon your offences, we will give increase to the doers of good."[1] God the Most Great speaketh truth. He on whom is peace said: "Ali and I are from one light." The Apostle of God speaketh truth.

Destur.

The pride of women, *Fatma*, the pure lady,
The exalted mother of the king of saints,
Has in this picture described and made known
The incidents of the time of her pregnancy;
For six months no sign of the great pregnancy
Did I see, she said truly; (then) she made it known.
First of all came an honourable cry.
They said: O *Fatma*, good-news to thee,
What a high estate this is for thee, O thou beautiful love;
What an honour for thee, O light of the eye!
With cheerful countenance I was inspired at that moment,
All concealment was lifted and I saw with certainty.
I used to disclose many a secret of God,
Every bit of me was filled with mirth and gladness.
My pregnancy began in the month of *Zilkade*,
Adam came and gave me the good-news and praise.
Also in *Zilhücce* Seth the generous
To my pregnancy gave his respectful greetings.
Idris came in *Muharrem* to me,
He said: Thy pregnancy is very blessed to thee.
In the month of *Safar* came Noah who was saved;
With eagerness he paid honour to my pregnancy.
In *Rebiülevel* the grandfather of saints,
That is, Ibrahim Halil, said: A hundred welcomes!
In *Rabiülahır* came to me Ismail,
He said: May I be a sacrifice for thy burden.
And in *Cemaziülevel*, Moses the Interlocutor
To my pregnancy offered high salutations.
In *Cemaziülahır* came Jesus, the Spirit of God,
And said: You have become in every way notable.
Then in *Recep* came also,
Hazreti Hut and prayed to my burden.
The pure spirits of the saints all together
My burden praised and honoured.

[1] Kur. 7:161.

When the sun and the brightness of day were near,
To shine upon the earth and heaven.
It was the thirteenth of the blessed *Recep*,
A Monday night, very exalted.
These two world decorating buds
Became the embellishment of the turban of the Believers.
The translation of this tradition, *hadis*, is clear and evident ;
" I am the city of religious learning ; *Ali* has become its gateway."
See to what degree of honour the Imam is,
The wisdom of the mystery of the word has been made known,
From his pure loins, *sulp*, until the day of judgment,
For he will continue the princely line, (*seyadet*).
A great many holy traditions being inspired,
In their prayer and praises,
Beholding *Haydar* have come to pass ;
For this work is worship itself ;
To whomsoever I may be a lord, *mevla*, *Ali* also
Has become his lord, this is manifest.
Whosoever loveth *Ali* loveth me ;
In fact love to me goes on to God.
The apostle has said of those who hate (him) :—
May he be mentioned with a curse, that presumptuous person—
This has occurred in one of his traditions also :
Ali is my brother in the two worlds.
Whosoever makes separation between me and *Ali*
Makes separation from me, no doubt ;
Whosoever separates me, separates God.
To the people Ali has become the crown of distinction.
Behold, Ali is the prince of the great men of God,
Ali is the guide on the road of right guidance.
Who praises him is the beloved of God ;
Who can find words to praise such a person ?
The Ali who became the chief of the saints,
The guide of the pure elements of the people.
It is necessary to follow the way of *Mürtaza* ;
He is the guide to the *Kâbe* of knowledge.
He does not show favour to dull minds ;
The one who goes rightly finds salvation.
Is an unsound mind worthy of a wise man ?
As long as there is the way of righteousness of Mustafa ?
In Ali is manifested the mystery of Muhammad ;
Ali also is the favoured one of Ahmed.
If thou art a sincere lover of *Haydar*,
Be careful to enter into his way.
Keep the commandment, and beware of the forbidden things,
So that thou mayest not encounter sorrow and loss afterwards.
Fight the greatest fight with thy own self,
So that you may find the favour of *Haydar*.

This favour is the same favour as Mustafa's ;
Also the favour of the Pure One, the Most High.
Be subject in a reasonable way ;
Bid good-bye to conjecturings and imaginings.
May *Mürtaza* be pleased with us all,
Ahmed and God will be pleased with that.

Greet and praise the best of human kind,
And also the spirit of *Mürtaza* at all times.

O veneration of the One All Gracious ;
O veneration of the praise of the Compassionate One ;
O veneration of Mustafa, the pride of the world ;
O veneration of *Mürtaza*, the prince of the world ;
O veneration of *Fatma*, the best of women ;
Also the veneration of *Hadice*, the all-faithful ;
The veneration of *Hasan*, the prince of the favoured ;
The veneration of King *Hüseyin* of Kerbela ;
The veneration of the twelve chiefs of the Imamate ;
The veneration of the fourteen princes of innocence ;
The veneration of all the chosen companions ;
The veneration of the righteous saints ;
Forgiving us our sins, grant us pardon,
O thou generous, compassionate, and O God.

O thou changer of conditions,
Change our condition to the best of conditions.
Destur, O thou compassionate to mankind.

Praise be to God that this is the day on which the apostle was happy,
This is the day on which the father of " *Şebir ve Şeber* " was born.
This is the day on which God has given an ornament to all existence in the eighteen thousand worlds.
This is the day on which all
The prophets and saints, the cherubim and the holy ones, are waiting for his birth.
With heart and soul we wish a happy *Nevruz* (*tebrik eyleriz*) to his Family.
This is the day which that *Muhammad Mustafa* loves.
With a hundred prayers, a hundred greetings, *O Nutkı*,[1] praise him
For this is the day on which all prayers are accepted.

Greet and praise the pride of human kind,
Also *Ali* and the family, and friends.

O Apostle, the powerful, and the forgiver of iniquities, a hundred greetings to thee.
A hundred greetings to thee, O Friend of the world.
To the people of the world at this moment thou hast commanded joy.

[1] *Nutkı Baba*, son of *Nuri Baba*, of the *Çamlıca* tekke.

A hundred greetings to thee, with grace, *O Ahmed Muhtar*
Greet and praise the best of human kind,
And the mysteries of *Ali* who is of exalted nature.

(The End.)

(The people rise.)

With this prayer, " O our God bless and grant peace to our master and his family, and his friends," all persons make holiday, *bayram*, by shaking hands.

(The manuscript ends with the remark : " The rite of *Nevruz* consists of this.")

Supplement II

ILLUSTRATIONS

In this supplement it will be our aim to present reproductions of original charts actually used on the walls of Bektashi tekkes, and of symbols used in their ritual or with their costume. We will endeavour to explain the significance of these so that visual content may be given to the meaning of terms as they have been used through the body of this study.

Illustration No. 3 is a small chart, 12 ins. x 9½ ins., signed *Mustafa*, and dated 1321 (1902). Translation: The manifestation of the light of the lord; the *mihrap* (niche showing direction of prayer) of the secrets of Ali, the Patron Saint of the rites of the Way, Haji Bektash Veli.

Illustration No. 4 (photo from an original loaned me by a Bektashi Baba). Translation: O honourable Patron Saint, *Seyit* Sultan, Haji Bektash Veli, may God the Most High bless his mystery.

Illustration No. 5 (photo from a small chart loaned me by a Bektashi Baba). Translation (at the top): He has struck us. (At the bottom): Oh, He.

This is, of course, a reference to the death of *Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. Note that the lines of the eyes, nose and mouth form the word Ali, reversed on the left side; the tail of the *ye* forming the sign of Ali's two-pointed sword, the *Zülfikâr*.

Illustration No. 6. This is a rather beautiful composition formed from the words describing the Bektashi trinity, *Hak*, or the Divine Reality, Ali and Muhammad. The size of the word Ali relative to the other two words of the trinity is interesting and quite characteristic. At the top is the *Hüseyini Tac*. It is formed of twelve pleats radiating from a centre at the top where a button or knob stands for the Divine Reality, and, as Bektashis explain, for the unity of God, Muhammad and Ali. The twelve pleats, of course, represent the Twelve Imams, although Bektashis in speaking to Christians will say that they symbolize also the Twelve Disciples. Usually the *tac* is divided around its lower



ILLUSTRATION No. 4



Illustration No. 5



Illustration No. 6



Illustration No. 7

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part into four sections standing for the Four Gateways, *şeriat, tarikat, marifet* and *hakikat.* The *sarık,* or turban, bound around is usually of green.

Under the *tac* is the most common symbol of the Bektashi order, the *Teslim Taşı,* or Stone of Surrender. This, as will be seen in later illustrations, is worn around the neck. It may be made of either of two kinds of stones, an alabaster of white or cream colour discoloured with reddish-brown stains, or of crystal. The former is called Haji Bektash stone and was quarried near the Haji Bektash tekke. Tradition says that during the life of Haji Bektash Veli, an enemy sought to poison him. This fact was made known to him, and he vomited up the food or drink which he had taken. A touch of blood being mingled with it accounts for the colouring of the resulting stone.[1] The crystal is called *necef* after the name of the city where it is supposed to be quarried and where the tomb of Ali is found. Nearly all the stones observed in Albania in a visit there in 1933 were of crystal.

The Bektashi explanation of this stone is that it is in memory of the act of Moses, when after he had given manna and quails to the children of Israel they demanded water also. He struck the rock, and twelve springs sprang out, each tribe drinking from its own spring (Kur. 2 : 57). The stone indicating these springs is worn in sign of complete submission to God.[2]

It should be noted that this stone with the twelve flutings is always worn with two small stones above and below, the three perhaps symbolizing the Bektashi trinity.

On the right, and reversed on the left, is the edge of the *teber,* or battle axe, used by Bektashis apparently in memory of such weapons carried by such early Bektashi warriors as Seyit Ali Sultan.[3] Although it formerly was perhaps used in the ritual service this use in recent years has dropped out of practice, and the *teber's* have been employed only for decorations on the walls of *meydan's.* See a picture of a *teber* in Illus. No. 10, Article No. 9.

ILLUSTRATION No. 7. This is a framed picture 18ins. x 12ins. in black, green and red colours. In the centre is the *Hüseyini Tac.* The words *Fatma* and Ali are in the large letters with Ali's face as the manifestation of God, and the words Woe, My *Hasan,* My *Hüseyin,* included. The word Ali, as almost always in Bektashi pictures, terminates with a representation of the *Zülfikâr* sword. In the upper right-hand corner are the words, O Imam *Hasan, er Riza,* and in the left-hand corner O Imam *Hüseyin* of Kerbela.

[1] *Besim Atalay's Bektaşilik,* p. 7.
[2] *Erk.* No. 4, p. 206, section named *Derbeyanı Teslim.* See also Rose, p. 199.
[3] *Vilayetname* of *S. Ali Sultan.*

ILLUSTRATION No. 8. As in No. 7, this also is a framed picture, 18ins. x 12ins., coloured in green, red and black, showing the word Ali and the *Tac*. The candle-sticks bear the phrase *Maşallah*, "Whatever god wills"; below is written a couplet:

> Thou art the Lord of a fortunate conjunction and of the *Zülfikâr* sword, O Ali,
> Thou art the King of the brave, the Lion of the Lord, the hero, O Ali.

Above at the right appear: O Imam *Hasan er Riza*; in the middle: O *Muhammad* the Prophet, O *Fatma*; at the left, O Imam *Hüseyin* of Kerbela.

ILLUSTRATION No. 9. Closely resembling Nos. 7 and 8, this also is a framed picture, 18ins. x 12ins., showing the word Ali written out and reversed, the *Tac* and the *Teslim Taşı*. Below is the inscription just as in No. 8, above at the right: The honourable *Hadicetülkübrâ*; next: Imam *Hasan er Riza*; then: Imam *Hüseyin*, martyr of Kerbela; and in the left corner: The honourable *Fatmatüzzehra*.

ILLUSTRATION No. 10. This is a photo of some of the more common symbols of the order.

No. 1 is not in any special way connected with the Bektashi order. It is a back-scratcher and is to be found frequently among the equipment of a dervish *şeyh*.

No. 2 is the *Kamberiye*. It is worn in memory of *Kamber*, who was Ali's groom, and who used to wear around his waist the tie-line, when Ali's mount *Duldul* was not hitched.

No. 3 is a *tesbih*, or rosary of one hundred beads, the three sections separated by small *tac'es*. Although ninety-nine is the usual number of beads in a Muhammadan rosary, Shi'ites frequently use one hundred.[1]

No. 4 is a *teslim taşı* of Haji Bektash stone. See Illustration No. 6 for an explanation. The stone is either of *necef* or of Haji Bektash stone. Illustration No. 2 shows both kinds suspended from pictures on the wall.

No. 5 is the *tiğbent* used in the initiation ceremony, supposedly made from the wool of the sheep which the day of the ceremony is brought for sacrifice by the initiate. Note the three knots symbolizing the tying against misdeeds of the hand, *el*; the tongue, *dil*; and the loins, *bel*. *Erk.* No. 4 gives the following explanation (pp. 204-206): "According to a tradition from Jafer Sadik the *tiğbent* is a sign of steadfastness. The origin

[1] Donaldson's *Shi'ite Rel.*, pp. 89, 90. For a study of the rosary in different religions see Patten's *The Rosary*.

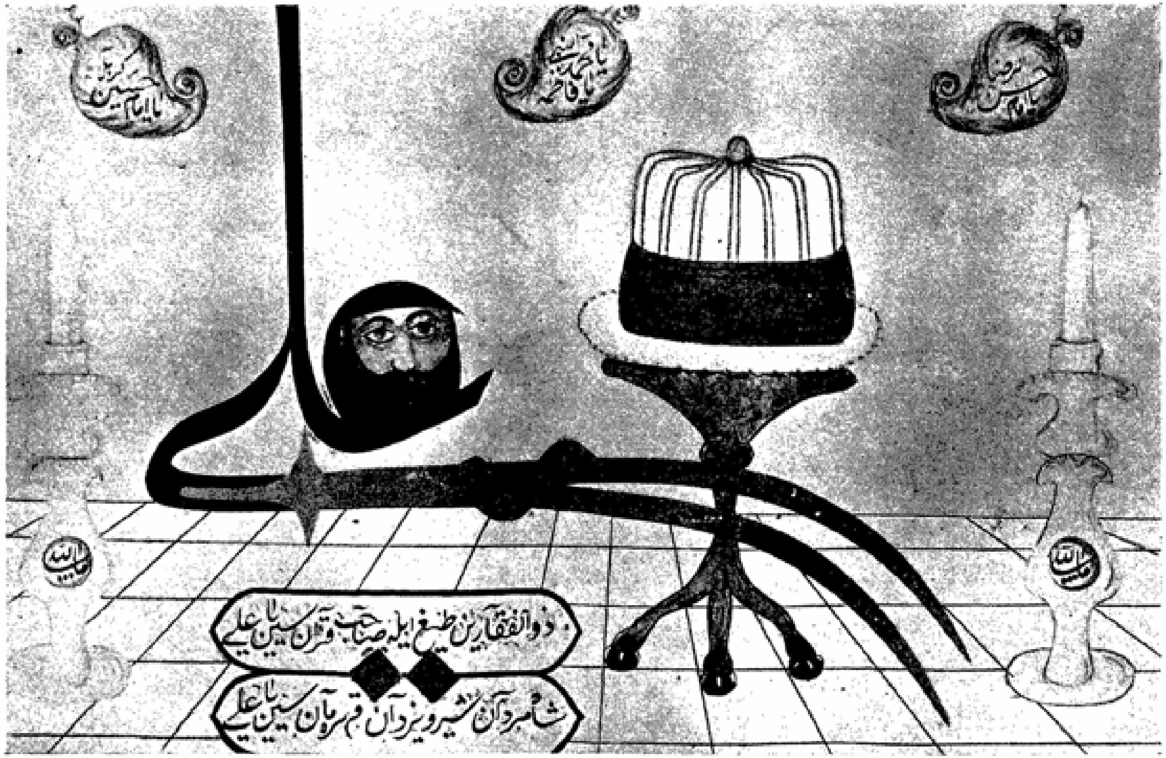


Illustration No. 8

Facing page 234]

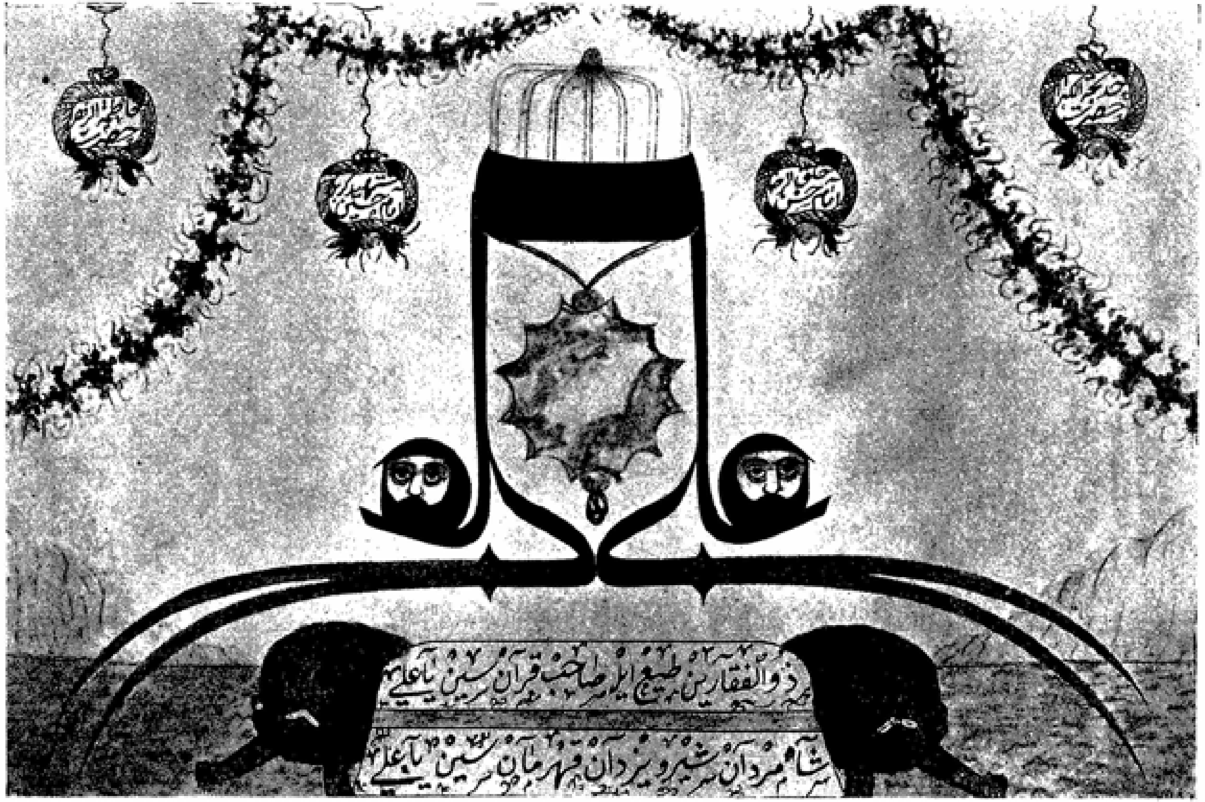


Illustration No. 9



ILLUSTRATION No. 10

of it was in this wise—When *Hişam* sought to hang our lord Imam Muhammad Bekir he put the bow-string or rope three times about his neck and started to draw him on to the gallows. On his saying the name of God a knot appeared in the rope so that it would not tighten. On his repeating the name of the Prophet a second knot appeared, and on his mentioning the name of the Saint, *veli*, a third knot appeared so that they could not kill him. Later a believer of the name of *Ayar* learned about the incident, asked for a ram, made a *tiğbent* out of it, tied three knots in it, bound the ram by its feet and killed it. Telling them to do that way with the Imam, he unbound the feet of the ram, put the cord about his own neck and went to the cell where the Imam was imprisoned. There at the door he hung himself as on the gallows of Mansur and died. The enemy, called *Yezidis*, unbound the cord from his neck and went into the cell only to find that the Imam had at that moment died (lit., faced toward the house of eternity). The brother of *Ayar* asked for the cord, and upon receiving it pronounced the three names and put it about his waist. The *tiğbent*, therefore, is a token of accepting the gallows of Mansur, of proving the sacred names and of finding salvation from the prohibitions of canonically unclean water ? (menahii çirkap). The tying of the three knots is the tying of the hand, the tongue and the loins. It is for confession and steadfastness of a promise. There are three knots, three names and three seals. The esoteric meaning of the *tiğbent* is hatred between the believer and the devil. Therefore the believer must be on his guard against the acts of the devil."

No. 6 is the *nefir* or horn. This is the instrument called "liffer" and "luffur" in Rose (94, 191 and 203). Its use in modern years seems to have been chiefly as a decoration hung on the wall. One Baba said it was used to declare a member excommunicated and also as a protection against wild animals on journeyings. He himself had never heard it played except for pleasure simply as an interesting feat. Brown's assertion (Rose, 203) that it was used to call members to refreshment and that it was called *Wadut*, a word meaning the All Loving used as one of the names of God, is probably correct. One learned *Şeyh* told me it was used by all the dervish orders except the *Kadiri's*.

No. 7 is a vest called *Haydariye* worn by dervishes. This particular one is a woman's garment. Note the cut of the arm sleeve as if forming the beginning of the word Ali.

No. 8 is the *Palihenk*, shaped like but larger than the *teslim taşı*. It is made out of Haji Bektash stone and apparently has a significance similar to the *teslim taşı*. A precious or semi-precious stone has been removed from the centre of the stone

photographed. Note the stone being worn in Illustration No. 19.

No. 9 is the *teber*, for protection in travelling, but used in recent years only as a decoration, evidently in memory of actual weapons carried by Bektashis on military campaigns in early Ottoman days. This particular *teber* bears the name *Ahmet* Baba, the date 1197 (1782) and even in the photograph the words Ali and Allah can be read.

No. 10 is a crystal bead called a *habbe*, a symbol of God, or if worn in multiple as in Illustration No. 32 for the Twelve Imams and *Muhammad* and *Fatma*.

No. 11 is the *keşkül*, or begging bowl. Although it is said direct begging is forbidden in Bektashiism, a disciple, called then a *Selmanı*, is said to have been sent sometimes by order of the *mürşit* on the road carrying this bowl and receiving but not directly asking for alms. (*Baha Sait, Türk Yurdu*, 1927, Vol. V, No. 28, p. 327.)

No. 12 is a coffee cup and saucer, the saucer shaped like the *teslim taşı*, the cup like the *Hüseyini tac*. Symbols for this purpose are apparently of souvenir rather than necessary ritualistic meaning.

No. 13 is a wooden figure shaped exactly like the usual *tac*, and often placed on the top of the Throne of Muhammad in the *Aynicem*. In Illustration No. 2 a small but similar figure can be seen.

No. 14 is a large crystal seal bearing the name of a famous Babba and of his son who inherited the seal, together with the name of the tekke and the dates of induction as Babas. In the centre of the seal is cut the figure of a *Hüseyini tac*.

No. 15 is a *secdetaşı* such as is used by Shi'ites in their prostrations, actually touching their forehead on this stone. The stone is made of dust from near the tomb of Ali in Kerbela, and as such is believed to have healing virtue. This particular stone has had some of its edge scraped off. The Baba who sold it said such dust is used in water on breaking the fast in the month of *Muharrem*, and also at any time of internal physical distress.[1]

No. 16 is the *arakiye*, or skull cap, worn by the initiate in the *aynicem*.

ILLUSTRATION No. 11. This is a very interesting example of a piece of decoration which serves both to express to the initiated and to conceal from the outsider and especially from the orthodox Sunni the essential doctrine of Ali's divine significance.

[1] Cf. p. 169, n. 2.



ILLUSTRATION NO. 11

Facing page 236]



Illustration No. 12



ILLUSTRATION No. 13

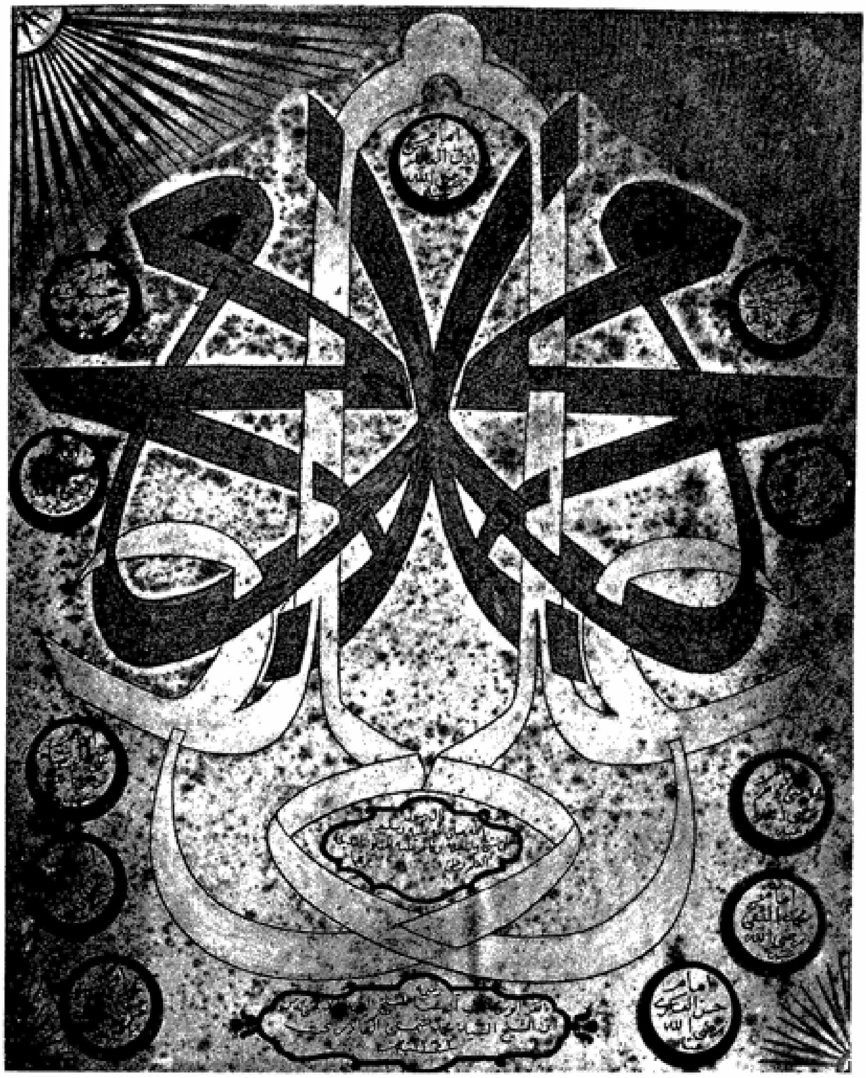


ILLUSTRATION No. 14

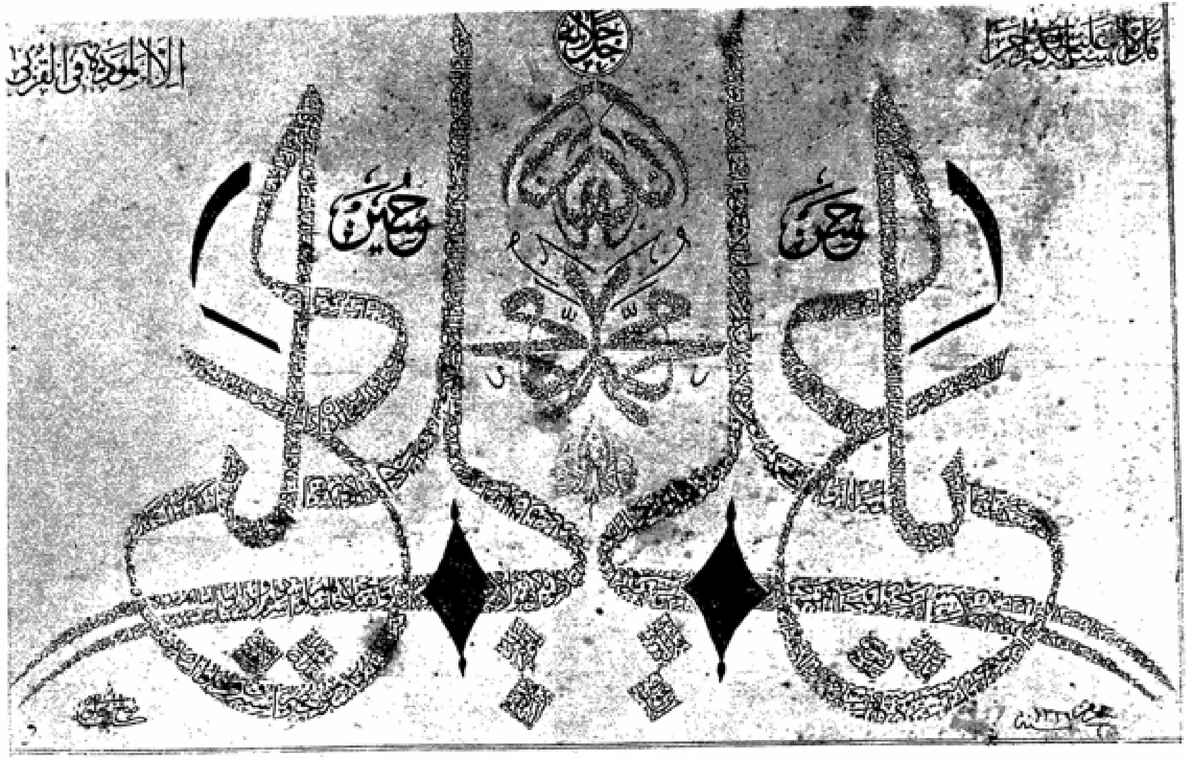


Illustration No. 15

Facing page 237]

According to the reading of this chart, as worked out by Prof. *Hüseyin Pektaş*, it may be translated as follows: Ali is the lion of God, the Attribute of the Merciful; verily Ali is my lord: *Ali esedullah sifaturrahman, we Ali Rabbı.*

ILLUSTRATION No. 12. Resembling, as this figure does, the foregoing picture, Ali is again represented as the Lion of the Lord. In part it reads as follows: In the name of the lion of God, the face of God, the victorious, *Ali* the son of *Ebu Talib. Bismi esedullah vechullah elgalib Ali ibni Ebu Talib.*

ILLUSTRATION No. 13. This is to illustrate the tradition referred to in the Section on The Traditional *Ali*, p. 139. Just before Ali died he is said to have told his two sons to bathe his body and prepare it for burial, and that then a poor man, veiled, would come to claim it. The sons obeyed and watched the stranger carry away the body of their father. Consumed then with curiosity they ran after him, and asked who he was. Lifting his veil the poor man showed that he was Ali himself.

ILLUSTRATION No. 14 represents a framed picture 18½ins. x 14½ins. The words Muhammad and Ali are interlaced and written also in reverse. In the little medallions are the names of the eleven Imams who followed Ali. The inscription just below the centre of the picture says: The Apostle of God, may God bless him and give him peace said: Ali is of me and I am of him. He, upon whom be peace said—I am the city of religious knowledge; Ali is its gateway.

The signature of the artist at the bottom is of: The poorest of God's creatures, a lover, *muhip*, of the Family of the Mantle, *el Şeyh Mehmet Muhyiddin ibn el Şeyh es Seyit Mehmet Şemsül Kadiri.* Year 1232 (1817).

ILLUSTRATION No. 15 is a large chart on oil cloth, 36ins. x 24ins., with the words O Ali, written in large letters and reversed, and with the words Muhammad and Allah written in smaller letters, all composed out of finer inscriptions so arranged as to make these large letters. The "O Ali" is written by the use of Kuran 76 which begins with the *ya* on the right and exactly comes to a conclusion with the points of the *Zülfikâr* sword at the left. The word "Allah" is formed from the "glorification of the candle" which we have met in the *aynicem* ritual, Kur. 24 : 35 (p. 186, n. 2).

The word Muhammad is made by an arranging of Kur. 48 : 29. In this quotation the important part from the Bektashi point of view is perhaps the phrase: "Their tokens are on their faces," which seems like a Kuranic authority for finding the face of man

to reflect the Divine Reality. The sentence, "This is their picture in the Law, and their picture in the gospel; they are as the seed which putteth forth its stalk; then strengtheneth it, and it groweth stout, and riseth upon its stem, rejoicing the husbandman," both because the gospel is mentioned and also because of the close resemblance to Mark 4:28 is just that expression of teaching which would be of value in a propaganda for Christians as well as Moslems.

Across the top is a sentence from Kur. 42:22: "Say: For this I ask no reward of you, save the love of my kin."

In the middle at the top is the expression: "Glorious is His Divine Majesty." The names of *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* are written in black letters on the right and left, and underneath the word Muhammad is the name *Fatmatüzzehra*; thus together with the name of God are the names of the five members of the Family of the Mantle, *Muhammet, Ali, Fatma, Hasan* and *Hüseyin*. These five are sometimes represented by a hand with its five fingers opened, the Hand of the Family of the Mantle, *Pençei Alı Aba*.

The chart is signed *Salih Hulusı*, and is dated the fourth of *Muharrem* 1326 (1908).

ILLUSTRATION No. 16 is a chart mounted on cardboard, 19ins. x 17ins. The translation of the large black letters is: "Oh Help, Kerbela the Oppressed, King *Hüseyin* upon whom be peace." It is signed *Mehmet Hamdi* and is dated 1305 (1888). The interest of this very remarkable chart lies in the floral decorations in the upper right and left corners in the midst of which the words Muhammad and Ali are so plainly to be read. Only close examination reveals that every bit of this decoration is made out of very fine Arabic writing. The 76th chapter of the Kuran is used to form the decoration at the left. This is the chapter used in Illustration No. 15 and contains the famous expression *Sekahüm Rabbühüm şaraben tahuran*, "And drink of a pure beverage shall their Lord give them." To complete the figure there is a credal statement of the Twelve Imams.

In the right corner the decoration is formed by an arrangement of the 36th chapter of the Kuran, the very famous *Ya Sin* chapter. On the walls of four of the *meydan's* in Albania I saw coloured print plaques of this chapter written so as to form the large letters *Ya Sin*. This chapter "is said to have been termed by Muhammad 'the heart of the Kuran'" (Rodwell). Its first thirty-nine verses are regarded as very important by Shi'ites (see Donaldson's Shi'ite Religion, p. 182). It was this chapter which was read publicly in Turkish at the first such reading in a mosque in Istanbul, January 20th, 1932.

In connection with the 76th chapter of the Kuran we can understand its spiritual significance for Bektashi's and for Shi'ites in general by keeping in mind the tradition reported by Al Beidawi,



Illustration No. 16

[*Facing page 238*



ILLUSTRATION No. 17

Facing page 239]

and translated by Sale. " It is related that Hasan and Hosein, Mohammad's grandchildren, on a certain time being both sick, the prophet, among others, visited them, and they wished Ali to make some vow to God for the recovery of his sons: whereupon Ali, and Fatema, and Fidda, their maid-servant, vowed a fast of three days in case they did well; as it happened they did. This vow was performed with so great strictness, that the first day, having no provisions in the house, Ali was obliged to borrow three measures of barley of one Simeon, a Jew, of Khaibar, one measure of which Fatema ground the same day, and baked five cakes of the meal, and they were set before them to break their fast with after sunset: but a poor man coming to them, they gave all their bread to him, and passed the night without tasting anything except water. The next day Fatema made another measure into bread, for the same purpose; but an orphan begging some food, they chose to let him have it, and passed that night as the first; and the third day they likewise gave their whole provision to a famished captive. Upon this occasion Gabriel descended with the chapter before us, and told Mohammad that God congratulated him on the virtues of his family."

ILLUSTRATION NO. 17 is from a photo made from a very old picture in four parts loaned me by Hüseyin Bey of Robert College. My copy was then coloured exactly like the original.

Across the top are the words: God Most High said: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. We will show them signs in (different) countries, and among themselves, until it become plain to them that it is the truth (to the end of the verse). (Kur. 41: 53.)

In the right-hand medallion under the *teslim taşı* is the following: Now come O ye seeker for the divine love: There is no doubt but that the holy body of the gnostic in God, and of the Perfect Man is the Most Great Copy. First of all it is in seven layers. The layers of earth correspond to those of heaven. The veins are the rivers; the bone-marrow represents the mines; the large hairs are the trees; the small hairs are the plants; his sadness is the clouds; his tears are the rain; his sweat is the dew; his holy speech is the Phoenix (*anka*); his good deeds are the angels; his vain deeds are the animals; God Most High has repeated and taught to Adam all the names. Even the verse and the chapter which we have created, the symbol (of them) is in man. (For a statement similar to the above see Donaldson's translation from *Majlisi*, *Shi'ite Religion*, pp. 313, 314.)

In the left-hand medallion are these words: The nature of man is of many kinds. His evil character is the ferocious animals; his carnal nature is the Satans. His youth is the spring; his vigorous manhood is the middle of summer; his old age is the autumn. His worry and anxiety are reproach, punishment

and suffering like winter. His carnal instinct is the Anti-Christ; his saintly spirit is Jesus; his animal soul is the "beast of the earth." His sickness is the sign of the end of the world; his mouth is the door of repentance; his sleeping is death; his waking is the resurrection. Compare in accordance with this the word of the Most High (Kur. 89 : 6, 7): "At Irem adorned with pillars, whose like have not been reared in these lands." The gnostic in God who knows the inner meaning of this verse will attain to God.

The writing formed upon the figure of the man reflects the age-old idea that the earth is but a poor copy of the sky (an idea which Sir William Ramsay calls "the old Anatolian conception," *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation*, pp. 55, 56) and that in man's body the signs of the Zodiac are to be found. The double fish, the serpent and the lion are the usual signs of the constellations of Pisces, Scorpio and Leo, and the localizations of these are as in ancient oriental lore, in the poetry of William Blake and in the Farmers' Almanacs as formerly circulated in our western states. To this fundamental idea of the constellations is added further details seeking to cover all the universe and in the application of letters there is the definite touch of Hurufi interpretation. As one scholar said of this chart: It is the geography of the Bektashi-Hurufi. (A simpler figure, but one basically resembling this, is to be found on p. 95 of the 1290 lithographed Virani Baba).

The almost constant misspelling of Arabic words greatly increases the problem of translation.

Beginning with the feet and working up, the translation so far as I have succeeded in making it out, is as follows:

(Facing picture—)

Right foot: Constellation of Pisces, Jupiter. Letter *tı*.
Left foot: Constellation of Pisces, Jupiter. Letter *tı*.
Right ankle: Constellation of Aquarius. Letter *dal*.
Left ankle: Constellation of Aquarius. Letter *zal*.
Right knee: Constellation of Capricornus, Saturn. Letter *re*.
Left knee: Constellation of Capricornus, Saturn. Letter *ze*.
Above right knee: The Mount of the Red Apple (Rome).
Above left knee: The Mount of (word obliterated).
Right upper leg: The place of the Ox (an obscure reference to the chapter of the cow in the Kuran and to verse 260). Letter *dad*.
Left upper leg: The Constellation of Taurus; planet of Saturn. Letter *sad*.
Just above serpent's head: The Constellation of Scorpio; the planet Mars. "*Nun*. By the pen and by what they write" (Kur. 68 : 1). It is the secret of *Lam elif* and "the key of the unseen. None knows it except He." (Like but slightly different from Kur. 6 : 59.)

Circle above, around Leo's right foot : The verse ? of the Balance ——the definition ? of the given names.

Circle above end of Leo's foot : The sea of the great ocean, and the universe between the heavens and the earth ; the objective and subjective building. Inorganic substance, animal, insects, birds, fishes and the Paradise of the Believers. The secret of the Prophet Idris ; the Descent and the Ascent.

Section above that : Planet Venus, the *Cavidan* ; glory, beauty, deceit, gossiping, bewitching, and deceitful witchcraft, change of the cycle.

Section above : The mystery of Israfil ; constellation of Capricornus ; the seventh sphere ; the west to the south point (parts illegible).

Section along right side (facing the picture) : Side of the shoulders ; Mount of *Kaf* ; seal of prophecy ; mystery of " Say, He is god " with the meaning of Gabriel, Michael, Asrafil and Ezrail ; i.e., their wings and under part of the world, and what is therein ; and the inside of the place of assemblage on the Day of Judgment, and the place of heedlessness, *gaflet.*

In the circle to left of bottom of side section : Constellation of Virgo, the fifth sphere ; the breast of Moses the Prophet ; the mystery of Noah and Abraham ; the sacrifice of Ishmael ; the carnal mind ; the vicinity of Jupiter ; the sublimity of knowledge, humility, patience, content, shame and honour ; regions of North Asia ; the place of astronomical observation.

In the section above with the small circles in right and left upper corners : Right circle—Constellation of Cancer ; left circle—Letters *sad, sin şin.*

In between : Constellation of Leo ; fourth sphere, that of the sun. Breast of courage, anger, fury, power, animal soul, human spirit, place of faith and belief ; mystery of the word of God ; countries of the world, inhabited part of the world, of the Orient.

Section above, being the second circle below the neck : Place of the merciful and divine light ; mystery of the prophet Job, the third sphere ; the carnal mind when resisted and the pious spirit ; the place of piety ; the real rose ? and the *cavidan.* The Preserved Tablet. North Egypt and Damascus.

Section just below the neck : The place of sweets, *hulkum* ? ; the side *sedef* of the sphere of Venus ; that is, the breast of lust ; the marriage of women ; is one with the changing behaviour of asceticism ? *tavrı munkalip zeht birle olur* ; the place of prosperity and the laws of the world, and the wonderful, strange ascent ; it is the place of glory, compassion, mercy, kindness, grace, munificence, sin.

The neck: On the right—Constellation of *Nester* ? (*Setr* ?) the West, the holy prophet upon whom be peace. In the middle—The Lower Nile, the Oxus, the Euphrates; the Place of *Hadice*, the place of Mary. The *Setr* ? of the prophet Jacob upon whom be peace. The East. In centre at bottom—The place of *Fatma*.

Chin: It is the curve, *zevrak* of the *be*, *te* letter, the revolution of the moon, the middle of the world; the place of Gabriel, and the experiential knowledge, *marifet*, of the treasures of the divine power, *ceberut*. Along edge of chin, reading from right: The blessing, *feyz*, of Jesus, upon him be peace. The Wisdom of Lokman.

Moustache: The word Ali, and reversed, the two points of the *Zülfikâr* sword forming the tips of the moustache. In the centre: The Interpreter, *terceman*. On the right and left sides over the *Zülfikâr*: The covering of the face, *setri heyet*.

Beside and below right eye (facing the picture): The Divine Reality is the secret of the beauty of Yayah, the prophet. If the lover, *aşık*, is desirous of the pleasure of the other world, and separation and love of calamities and burning of the sun and fire then will result continuing existence in God, the face of ——, *vechi dimak* ? and taste of the other world. Just under eye: Letter *ayın*. Edge of right cheek: *Mecdid ?*

Under right eyebrow: The glory of Azrail conquered *Hüseyin*.

Between the eyebrows: The *Mihrab* (or direction of prayer).

Under left eyebrow: The beauty of Gabriel created *Hasan*.

Under left eye: The sphere of the earth; the beauty of ——; the place of worldly taste, the lover of it; he who seeks satisfaction ascends to the highest point of heaven, and the tasting of Paradise, the Houris, the Gilman, and to being lost in God.

On edge of left cheek: The righteous prophet, upon whom be peace. The outlet, *mahrec*.

Curls of hair, taking in order from right to left the nine partial circles outside the line of the actual head: First circle: Virtue, Constellation of Aries, Planet of Mars; Mysteries of Michael and *Cafer Sadık*; the ear. Second: Place of intelligence, the Vicar of God; it knows the objective universe. Third: (Illegible). Fourth: Good hearing is hope. Separation, division, sadness, gaiety, love. Fifth: It knows the meek, the tyrant, the Tablet, the Pen, the Nine Spheres, the Throne, the earth, the great, the little. Sixth, Seventh and Eighth: (Illegible). Ninth: Virtue of *Muhămmed Mehdi* (constellation) of the Twins, i.e., the ear, the mystery of Michael, constellation of Aries, Planet of Mars, *Ya Hu*.

Right arm, from top reading down: The Phoenix bird, *simurg* on Mount *Kaf*. The Planet of Mercury. The Constellation



ILLUSTRATION No. 18

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of the Twins. The left hand, i.e., the western. The letters *kaf, nun*; the Rainbow. The Constellation of Cancer; the north-west (part of) the sun, and the lower hand. The hand of the hidden power is the shield; the mystery of Ali, i.e., the prophet Ilyas, upon whom be peace. God, the hand, the word is written.

Left arm, reading down: The hearth or fire-place (*otag*) of *Semender* (a fabulous Salamander which lives in fire), the right side. The letters *kaf, nun*; the constellation of Sagittarius. The Planet of Mercury, the constellation of the Twins; right-hand side, i.e., the eastern, the Prophetship ——. He is God. The constellation of Cancer; the North, the Sun, the Moon, the Sky. The exalted hand; the mystery of Muhammad, i.e., the prophet *Hızır*; the hand of God is upon their hands, etc. In the name of God, glorious in His Divine Majesty (consult in Glossary the word *Bürcüeset*).

Illustration No. 18 is a framed picture, 18ins. x 21ins. Like the foregoing, this also appears to have been written down from memory or dictation by one whose knowledge of Arabic was not great, for words are written as they sound when pronounced by Turks, rather than as they should be in Arabic. Beginning at the top in the middle and reading down the translation so far as I have been able to make it out is as follows: There is a relationship between the real nature, *zat*, of God and that of man, and between the knowledge of God and that of man. Likewise, with respect to beauty and details, there is a relationship between the Exalted Pen and the Spirit of man; between the Preserved Tablet and the heart of man; between the Throne, *arş*, and the body of man; between the footstool, *kürsi*, and the soul, *nefes*, of man. And every one of these things is a mirror for that to which it is related. And everything which is included in the Exalted Pen is included in the Perfect Man; and everything which is included in the Preserved Tablet is included in the heart of man; everything included in the Throne is in the body of man; and everything in the Footstool is in the soul of man. Therefore man is the meeting-place of all the books, because man possesses the quality of being inclusively and in detail all things; he is the sign or token of God Most High. And *lam* is the sign of all possible existence, and *mim* is the sign of the Perfect Man (?). Therefore God Most High, and the world of the Perfect Man, are the Book in which there is no doubt.

An explanation of the places of the thirty-two letters which are in the face of man.

That is, *lam, elif* are the sign of *Muhammad.* Because all things in their origin are *Muhammad* upon whom be peace, and are born from the Light of *Muhammad* ; (from or in place of) those four letters (meaning probably the four additional Persian letters) came *lam, elif.* They are the station of the four prophets, in all they become thirty-two, the face of man. (Reading from right to left.) The Innocent *Kasim* son of *Hüseyin,* the space or line between the left eye and eyebrow. *Imam Muhammet Taki,* the mouth. The Prophet Adam, the Prophet Noah, the Prophet Abraham, *Ali ul Mürteza,* the hair. The Innocent *Hüseyin* son of *Zeynulabidin,* the line between the cheek, the eye and the hair. *Abdullah,* son of *Imam Hüseyin,* space of the left face. *Imam Ali er Riza,* the left nose. The Innocent *Ali* ?[1] son of *Imam Muhammet Bakir,* its right side. *Imam Hüseyin,* the right eye. *Imam Cafer Sadık,* the left ear. *Hadicetül-kübr,* the left eyebrow. *Fatmatüzzehra,* the right eyebrow. *Imam Muhammet Mehdi,* the right ear. *Imam Ali el Naki,* the left upper eyelash. The Innocent *Abdullah,* son of *Imam Hasan,* the left hand. *Imam Zeynulabidin,* the (right) upper eyelash. The Innocent *Mehmet el Ekber,* the right hand. The Innocent *Cafer,* son of *Imam Muhammet Taki,* the line between the two lips and the cheek. *Imam Hasan,* the Chosen, the left eye. The Innocent *Yahya,* son of *Cafer Sadık,* the left cheek. *Imam Hasan el Askeri,* the right nose. The Innocent *Cafer,* son of *Ali el Naki,* the right face. The Innocent *Abdullah,* son of *Cafer Sadık,* space between the (right) eye and the eybrow. *Imam Muhammet Bakir,* lower left eyelash. The *Kasim,* son of *Imam Ali Naki,* line between the cheek and the left eye. The Innocent *Kasim,* son of *Imam Zeynulabidin,* the left face. The Innocent *Tayyub,* son of *Imam Musa Kâzim,* line between the two lips and the face (right). *Imam Musa Kâzim,* lower right eyelash. The Innocent *Salih,* son of *Imam Musa Kâzim,* right cheek.

The meaning is the seven natures of the son of Man, and the seven behaviours, which they also call self, or the soul, *nefes.* And these seven natures of composition are according to fifty that there be no change.

And then, there being five times (of prayer) is because of the five points of the Divine Majesty. These five letters show the face of man.

The *salat* of *hazar* is ——, the *salat* of *sefer* is —— ; together they are ——. The meaning is man.

The purpose of the fifty times prayer, *namaz,* also is man, since there are twenty-eight letters, and twenty-two points, together making fifty, indicating the face of man. (The numbers are here filled in ; elsewhere left blank.)

[1] In this translation an interrogation point indicates an illegible word or a doubtful translation ; a dash represents a blank space on the original chart.

The Prophet of God, Muhammad is —— letters, and the seven planets are seven and its place is seven, making ——. These all show man.

The *salat* of *hazar* being ——, is made six days, and on the fourth Friday there being —— *rekât's* together have made ——. The meaning is man. The *ezan* of the morning is —— words. And the *kamet* is —— words also, making ——. It explains man.

(Reading down on right-hand side): Minerals, jewels, coral, seedless plants, plants with seed, fruit trees, the date, kinds of animals. The Primary Intelligence; the nine Intelligencies, the Nine Souls; the great Sphere, the Nine Spheres, the Conditions of the Elements; the Degree of Unity in which there is neither emptiness nor fullness nor differentiation; the descent and with existence the ascent (are) in explanation of man. (See above, p. 116.)

First of all, the first heavenly sphere being (that of) the Moon, is the splitting, *şak* and the moon. ? is the secret of the line of the equator, which is the face of man. The meaning of ascending to the first heaven and seeing Adam, upon whom be peace, is seeing one's self in one's self.

The second sphere is (that) of Mercury. It is both inauspicious and auspicious. The meaning of Jesus and John, upon whom be peace, is the Beauty and the Majesty because Jesus is the manifestation of Beauty, *cemal*, and John is the manifestation of Power, Majesty, *celal*. Their explanation is Beauty and Majesty.

The third sphere being (that of) Venus the meaning of Joseph is the most beautiful form, and Beauty and Majesty explain Man.

The fourth sphere is (that of) the Sun. It has —— degrees. And the meaning of *Idris*, upon whom be peace, is the dividing of the constellation (or part of the Zodiac).

The fifth sphere is (that of) Mars, and all right of succession, *hilafet*, being of Mars, and since Aaron, upon whom be peace, was the successor (halife) of Moses, this sphere has relations with Aaron.

The sixth sphere is (that of) Jupiter, being related to Moses. And the meaning of Moses is the *şeriat*. This planet is assigned to the *şeriat*.

The seventh sphere, (that of) Saturn is Patron Saintship, *pirlik*, and is related to Abraham upon whom be peace. And this planet is the place of Patron Saintship.

The meaning of these seven planets and seven spheres is the seven behaviours, *tavr*, which arise out of the heart of the Perfect Man. The *hakikat*, knowing things as they are, is the inside and the outside.

(The next section, third from the bottom on the right, I cannot make out.)

The meaning of the Frequented House is the heart of man which is the place of manifesting of God.

The *ezan* ? of the morning is seventeen and the *ezan* of *Zuhur* is fifteen, together equalling thirty-two which is in explanation of the face of man, and likewise also the West, *magrib* is so (?).

(Reading down the left-hand column): When taking the ablution it is *sunnet* to wash each member three times. Washing the hands three times, the mouth, the nose three times, the face, the right arm and left arm three times each, the head once, the neck once, the two feet three times each, all together make twenty-eight which is in explanation of man.

The meaning of the ablution, *aptest*, is that the fingers of the hand are washed and the two feet also, being ——, are written in accordance with the —— letters. (Spaces for numbers left blank.)

And the meaning of the circumambulation, *tavaf*, about the House of God is that seven circumambulations and seven of the minor pilgrimage, *umre*, are *farz*. They are ——, the appearance of the face of man. And seven circumambulations of arrival and seven of leaving are *sunnet*. They make fourteen; all together they are twenty-eight. The meaning is the interpreting of man.

The meaning of the two worlds, one in the west, one in the east is that the Blessed Pride of the World formed his hair (in) two (parts). Each side is knowledge, *ilim*. And because he appeared in Mekka one knowledge will be in Mekka. The meaning of the two (kinds of) knowledge is that one is the —— of the east, and one is the Saintship of the west. He knew the mysteries and the nature of Saintship.

The meaning of the coming down of Jesus, upon whom be peace, is that he is one word, and he includes all things. This secret of the real essence which he brought down became known. And the secret of the word is the heart of man. And the white ? minaret also is the body (or existence), *vucut*, of man, since it is arranged according to the twenty-eight letters.

The holy Kuran is according to twenty-eight letters. —— These four letters are the sign of the four elements. Because if the four elements are added to the twenty-eight letters they become thirty-two. The meaning is the body (or existence) of man.

In the holy verse of —— the bringing into existence of what is other than the body (or existence) of man is the renewing of the elements.

The word of God is of two kinds. One is the *sahib*[1] word, the other is the articulate, *natık*, word. The silent wðrd is written on sheets, the articulate word is the face of man. This is the meaning of the sign.

The holy Kuran is in explanation of the appearance of man,

[1] A mistake evidently for *samit*, silent.



ILLUSTRATION No. 20

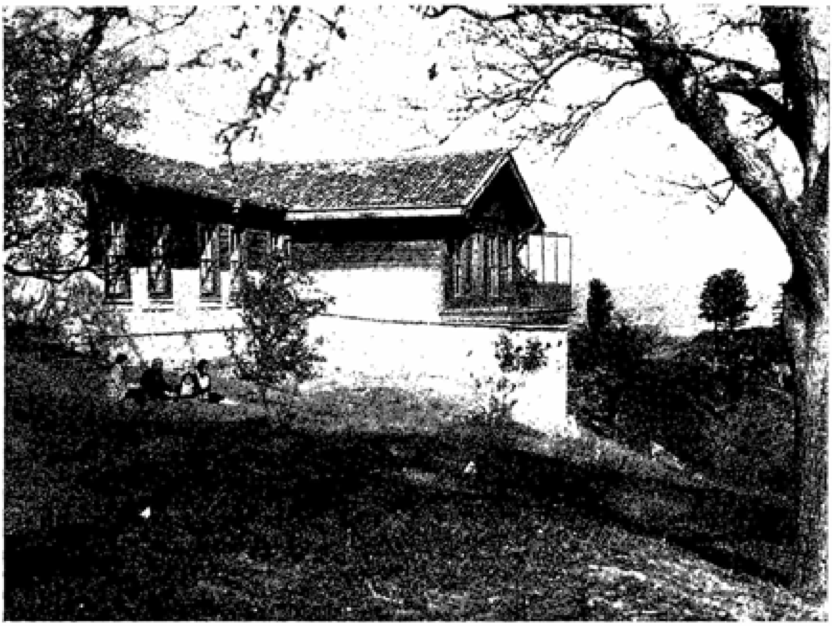


ILLUSTRATION No. 21

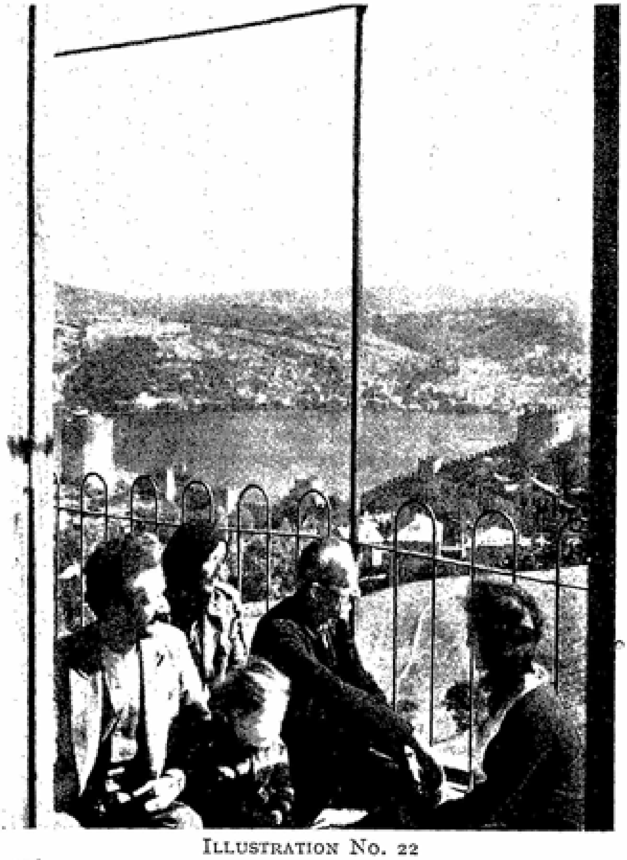


ILLUSTRATION No. 22

Facing page 247]

since these are composed of the natural elements—the flesh and nerves and veins and bone, and skin and blood and phlegm, and bile and black bile. And man also is in explanation of the holy Kuran.

(In long section just above the bottom): The sun's arising in the west is the change to the eastern side of what they call the sun of the west, it is the appearing of saintship, in accordance with a knowing sect.

(The bottom section): If it is asked: What flows inside, answer: It is only water. If the questioner says: I did not ask in the name of water. (Illegible words.) It is a flowing and pleasant and life-giving thing. And if the questioner says: I did ask about its quality, the answer is: But thou hast characterized it, that which is described is the attribute of God. —— Oh, He.

ILLUSTRATION No. 19 is a photograph of *Selman Cemalı Baba* of Elbasan, Albania, and a dervish. Each is wearing a crystal *teslim taşı* which, being transparent, is not visible. The *palihenk* stone with twelve flutings is seen at *Cemalı Baba's* waist as well as the stone of the *Kamberiye* belt. (See Illustration No. 10.) The bag called *cilbent*, with a picture of the *tac* and *teslim taşı*, the word Ali written as usual with the *Zülfikâr* sword, and in reverse and with the names of *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* in the top corners, is a usual part of the costume of a Bektashi Baba. In his hand is a short staff used under the armpit for leaning on as one sits on the sheep-skin in the *meydan*. The crystal beads, *habbe*, fourteen in number, can be seen hanging from each shoulder. The dervish standing has a *Kamberiye* belt about his waist.

ILLUSTRATION No. 20 is a reproduction of a painting of five famous Bektashi Babas of Constantinople, *Mustafa Niyazı*, *Mehmet Ali Dede Baba*, *Ali Hoca*, *Hafız Nuri*, and *Nuri Baba*. Note the *teslim taş'es*, the *cilbent* bag on *Mehmet Ali Baba*. Two are wearing the regular *Hüseyini tac* with twelve pleats. Two are wearing a *tac* named after *Ibrahim Ethem*, the famous prince who surrendered his father's throne in order to be a mystic. This *Ethemı tac* is in four pleats.

ILLUSTRATION No. 21 is a view of the *Şehitlik tekkesi* on the hill overlooking Robert College and Rumeli Hisar on the Bosphorus. It is shown here in order to illustrate the point that has been made with reference to the choice always of an isolated spot for a Bektashi tekke.

ILLUSTRATION No. 22 is a photograph taken from the veranda visible in Illustration No. 21. It illustrates not only the isolation of the tekke but its location on a spot of very rare beauty. The

towers in the middle-ground are of the castles at Rumeli Hisar, built by *Muhammad II* in 1451. To the left of the right tower can be seen across the Bosphorus in Asia the tower built by *Beyazit I* in 1402.

ILLUSTRATION No. 23 is of the plot where, according to tradition, Janissary-Bektashi skirmishers were buried after being killed in a raid just prior to the capture of Constantinople in 1453. The marker bears the words: "This is the place of the martyrs." It is from this tradition that the tekke received its name *Şehitlik* or Place of the Martyrs.

ILLUSTRATIONS Nos. 24 and 25. These photos show the general appearance and types of stones in a Bektashi burying ground.

ILLUSTRATION No. 26 is of special interest because it shows two stones bearing the third form of Bektashi *tac,* the form mentioned in the MS. *Vilayetname's.* This is the *Elifi tac* shaped like a Bishop's mitre. The inscription on the stone in No. 26 says: He. Of the companions of the Honourable *Ak Şemseddin* who came here with the Father of Victory Sultan Muhammad Han—*es Seyit eş Şeyh Bedreddin,* son of *es Seyit eş Şeyh Mahmut,* son of *eş Şeyh Mustafa,* may his mystery be blessed, year 855 (1451). (It should be said that this stone appears rather to perpetuate a tradition than to be an actual memorial from 1451.) Another stone at some distance appears to be very ancient and is marked: *Saka Baba* 855 (Illustration No. 27).

ILLUSTRATION No. 27. Tombstone of *Saka Baba* 855 (1451) near the cemetery of *Şehitlik Tekkesi* in Rumeli Hisar.

ILLUSTRATION No. 28 is of a typical Bektashi tombstone with the usual *Hüseyini tac* at the top. Translated it reads: He, the Continual Creator, the Everlasting. (Say) a *Fatiha* for the spirit of the oppressed Mustafa Baba upon whom is mercy and forgiveness and who is in need of the mercy of God, the All-Forgiving; the chief successor of the clerk of the Life Guards, buried in the ground, under the foot of the Patron Saint, being one of the children of the humble *Şeyh Ali Baba.* Year 1227 (1812).

ILLUSTRATION No. 29 is a copy of an *Icazetname,* Certificate of approval, of *Yaşar Baba,* a former singer, *Zakir,* of the *Rufai's,* and later a Bektashi Baba. *Yaşar Baba* lived in *Eyup* and died in 1934. The translation of this document is as follows: He the changer. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Verily it is from *Suleyman.* Praise belongs to God who guided us hither! And we had not been guided had not God guided us! (Kur. 7: 41). My sole help is in God. (Kur. 11 : 90). And our sufficiency is God and He is an excellent



Illustration No. 23

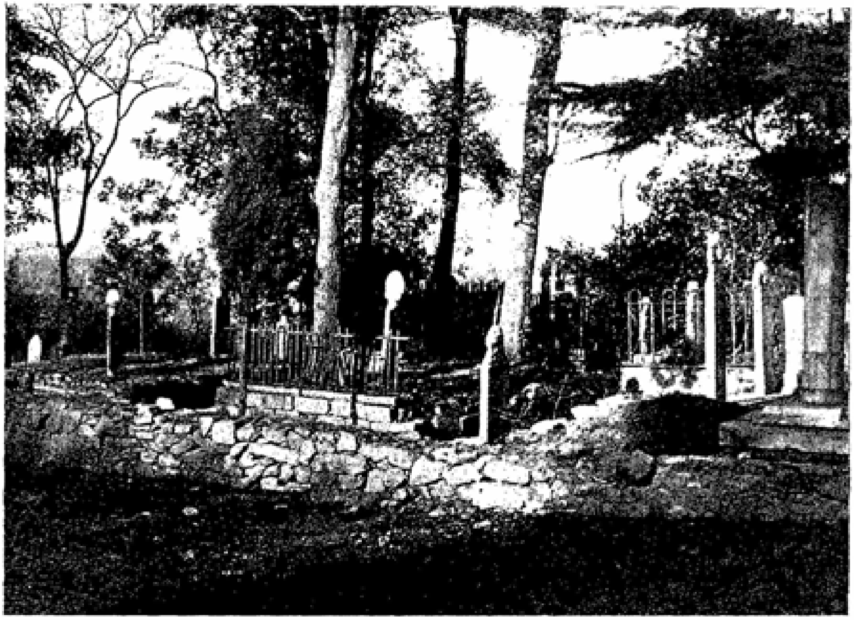


Illustration No. 24

[*Facing page* 248

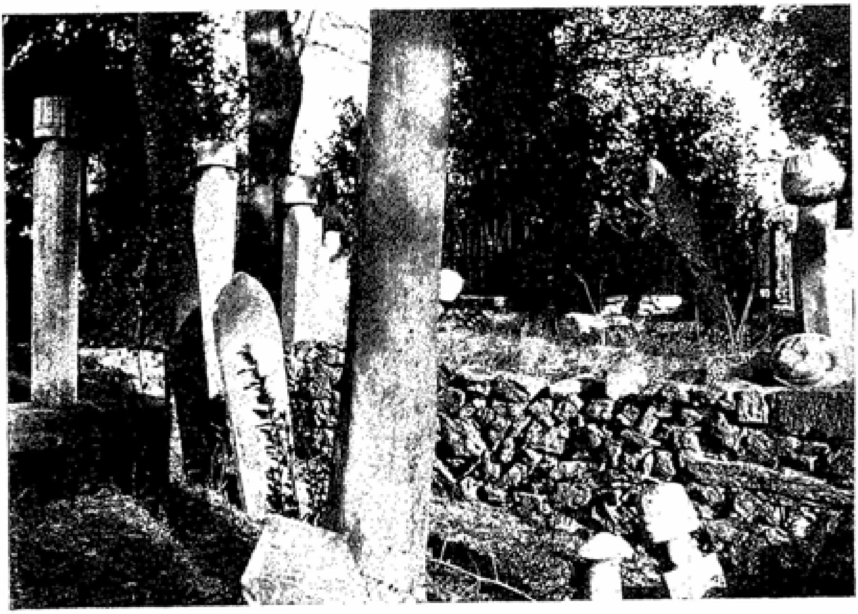


Illustration No. 25



Illustration No. 26



Illustration No. 27



Illustration No. 28

protector (Kur. 3 : 167). Praise belongs to God who has guided us to the path of the prophets and the apostles. And he granted us grace to walk in the path of the Saints and the angels, and he has adorned the heaven of the breasts of the learned with the stars, the secrets of reality and knowledge. And the light of the niche (see Kur. 24 : 35) of the hearts of those who go on the way is in the light of right guidance and certitude. May God bless our prophet Muhammad who has given us training in the rules of the manifest law, and his family, the pure ones, and his chosen companions, until the day of judgment.

Continuing,—be it known to the lovers, *aşıklar* and faithful ones, and the intimate friends, *muhipler*, and the dervishes who are the signs of reality and who are dependent upon and bound to do the will of and connected with the exalted way of the Sovereign Muhammad Haji Bektash Veli (may his high and exalted mystery be blessed) our lord, our Patron Saint, the divine mystery, the illuminated temple, who is the Pole of Poles, the most great helper, the hub of the inhabited earth, the fruit of right guidance of the blessed tree which grew in the garden of the generations of Hashim, of our lord Ali the son of *Âbu Talip* (may God look with favour and kindness upon him) who is the victorious, the lion of God, the cup-bearer of *Kevser*, the best of mankind, the pointer out of the right way of reality, the fore-runner of the way, who was brought up in the garden of the pure relatives of our lord the honourable and excellent Muhammad el Mustafa (may God Most High bless him and grant him peace) the intercessor of the day of judgment, the friend of God who granted mercy to the two worlds, the prophet of men and jinn, the pride of existence and joy of creation, that : we have received and noted the contents of a letter which was sent by the local *muhip's* concerning the giving of permission and authority according to the rules and regulations for the appointment of *Yaşar Baba* who is known for character and perfection of ability, possessed of the recognised qualifications and experienced, to the vacant position of *postnişin* in the *Kar Yağdı dergâh* in Istanbul.

In accordance with the *hadisi şerif* which says that : That which is approved by Believers is approved by God, we also, expecting that the aforementioned *Yaşar Baba* will attend to the performing of the *şeriat* of Muhammad, the rites of the Way of *Ahmet* and will not deviate from the straight path, and will strive to act in accordance with all the customs of the *Tarikat*, will serve with benevolence those who come and go, and that he will persevere in observing the five cannonical prayers for the everlasting happiness and sovereign glory of our republican government which was established by the lion-like courage and effort of Mustafa Kemal Pasha who with his fellow combatants saved the beloved and sacred country with the help of God;

in short, confidently expecting his behaving correctly in external and hidden things, permission is given for his occupying the *post* of the aforementioned *zaviye* and for his performing the spiritual services of the *aşık's* and faithful ones, and for their making confession by the taking of his hand; and this certificate of approval, *icazetname*, is given to the aforementioned Baba from the Patron Saint of the *Dergâh* of God's blessing.

May it be known to you all and may confidence be placed in our approval, and peace be upon whoever follows the right guidance. 13th of *Cemazielahır*, 1343, 9th of *Kânuni sani*, 1341 (Jan. 9, 1925).

Signed: *Postnişin* and Keeper of the Tomb in the *Dergâh* of Haji Bektash Veli
Atacı Baba
Ekmekçi Baba
Aşcı Baba
Hanbağı
Dedebağı
Mihmandar all of the aforesaid *Dergâh*.

Illustration No. 30 is of a framed picture 12 ins. by 19ins. What it exactly represents I have been unable to discover. A dervish, wearing an *Elifi Tac*, is sitting on a *post*, a bird is on the little hillock of sand and another bird is descending toward it.

Illustration No. 31 is of a framed picture 14 ins. by 19 ins. It is marked *Ethem Ibrahim Hazretleri*. Four dervishes, all wearing *Ethemı tac'es*, with the four rather than the twelve pleats, are to be seen, one sitting on a *post* holding a deer under his arm, and with a gesture calming two lions. The picture is in beautiful pastelle shades mainly brown and green. The top of a branch with green leaves seems significant. But like Illustration No. 30, I have been able to find no explanation of the incident being illustrated.

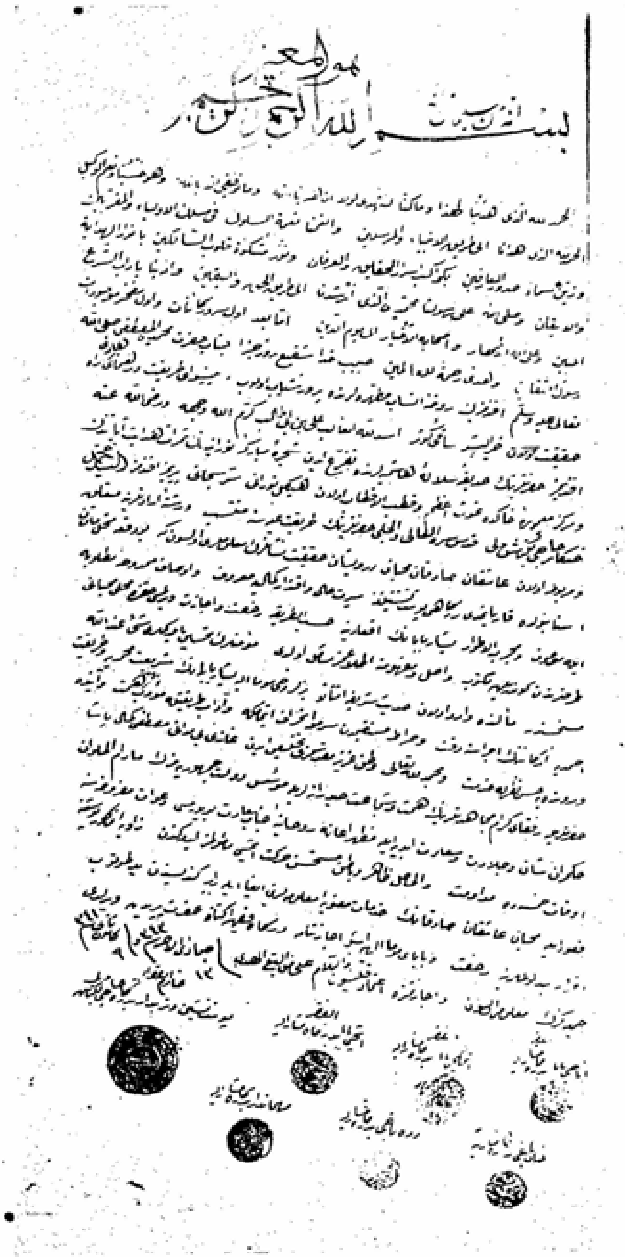


ILLUSTRATION NO. 29

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Illustration No. 30



ILLUSTRATION No. 31



Illustration No. 32

Supplement III

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Both for the selection of terms and for the meanings this Glossary is indebted especially to the *Lugatçe's* in *Sadettin Nüzhet's Bektaşı Şairleri* and in *Adbulbaki's Kaygusuz.* Where the interpretation given amounts practically to a translation the source is indicated by the initials *B.Ş.* or *K.*

ABDAL.—As used in formal mysticism, *tasavvuf*, this word has reference to the spiritual hierarchy, see p. 119; a plural of the Arabic word *bedel* "change," it refers to those who can change from a physical to a spiritual state.

It is also used in the sense merely of dervish, and in that meaning is synonymous with *Kalender* and *ışık.* There appears to have been in the thirteenth century a group more or less organised who were called the *Abdalan* or the *Rum Abdallari. Kaygusuz Abdal* belonged to this group. The term is used frequently in Bektashi verse, *B.Ş.* 196, 231, 42, 79. The word is frequently used in Bektashi names, *Abdal Musa, Derun Abdal, Genç Abdal, Kalender Abdal, Kazak Abdal*, etc. *Fuat Bey* in his *Ilk Mütesavvıflar*, p. 376 says the *Abdal's* were a branch of the *Babai* sect. See *Köprülü's Halkedebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* for a thirty-three page important article on the word *abdal.*

ABI-HAYAT, "water of life."—*Hızır, Ilyas* and *Iskender* (Alexander) went forth in search of this water which was in a region where danger and oppression ruled. *Iskender* was afraid and gave up. *Hızır* and *Ilyas* went, found the the spring and drank of the water, so attaining to immortal life. In tasavvuf it is in allusion to experiential knowledge of divine reality. *K.* cf. word *Hızır.*

ADEM, the opposite of *vücut*, "non-existence."—It is of two kinds *izafı* and *mutlak.* In the case of *mutlak* or absolute non-existence, it is both non-existent and incapable of coming into existence. *Izafı*, or accidental non-existence, is that in which there is no external existence, but in which existence is potential as in the case of the tree in the seed. *B.Ş.*

AHSENI TAKVIM is a term taken from Kur. 95 : 4. "We created man of a most excellent fabric." This "most excellent fabric" is the form of man. Since he is the most perfect form, then he must have the appearance of the Divine Reality, i.e., God is revealed in the form of man, cf. Illus. No. 17 and 18.

AKIL, "reason," if used in the ordinary sense of the mind's activity, cannot know the Divine Reality. But it is used also in the sense of the "nous" of the Neo-Platonic thought, in which case it is the intuitive understanding by which alone we can know the Divine. There are said to be three degrees of *akıl* :

First—*aklı maaş*, the "intelligence of subsistence, the lowest level of intelligence, by which one knows the things of nature."

Second—*aklı maâd*, the "intelligence of return. When the mind is disciplined in the mystic science it can understand things beyond the *alemi şehadet*, 'visible world.'"

Third—*aklı kül*, "universal intelligence, the first great emanation from Divine Unity and the intuitive understanding of divine things which the prophets and saints have." *B.Ş.*

AKLI EVVEL and *AKLI KÜL*, "universal intelligence" is the first stage of emanation from the Absolute. It is the "nous" of the Neo-Platonists. In this stage differentiation begins to the extent that existence knows its own qualities and names in an inclusive way. There are many other names of this stage: *Vahdeti Hakiki*, "real unity"; *Taayyünü Evvel*, "first differentiation"; *Ilmi mutlak*, "absolute science or knowledge"; *Hakikatı Muhammediye* "the truth or essence of Muhammad."

AK PINAR, "white fountain," a place where Haji Bektash performed a miracle in Haji Bektash Village. *B.Ş.*

AK YAZIL—*raki*, a kind of brandy.

ALLAH-MUHAMMET-ALI, a trinity similar to the Christian Trinity. The fundamental figure in this Trinity is Ali. Divinity, *ülubiyet*, should not be sought elsewhere than in Ali (although there are references, perhaps for sake of *takiye*, "dissimulation," in which divinity is denied Ali, cf. Sixty-Ninth Word of Hütbetul Beyan, p. 145). Muhammad attained to *fenafillah* because he rendered homage to Ali; therefore to see the Divine Reality and Muhammad and Ali as different and separate from one another is only to misunderstand the real meaning of Reality. *B.Ş.*

ÂLEMÎ ERVAH.—See p. 129 n. 1, for a statement of the different creations of levels in the spirit world. The spirits

here are without shape or colour, and know nothing of time or place, because they are not yet embodied. It is a world of the imagination in which there is both self-consciousness and consciousness of Divine Reality.

ÂLEMÎ ITLAK a term equivalent to Lâtaayyün, " undifferentiation."

ÂLEMI EKBER, ÂLEMI KÜBRA.—According to the Mystics the world, *Âlem*, is divided into two, *Âlemi Ekber*, the Greator World and *Âlemi Asgar*, the Lesser World. Externally speaking the Greater World is the Universe and the Lesser World is Man. But in reality the Universe finds its end and purpose in man as the seed or stone does in the tree, so from this point of view Man is the Greater World. *K.*

ALEVÎ is a general term applied to those who recognise Ali as the rightful Imam, following the Prophet or to those who recognize a special attachment to Ali. All the *tarikat's* or " Mystic Ways " are supposed to go back to one or another of the companions of the Prophet. The *Nakşi* and *Mevlevi* orders are Bekrı, i.e., they go back in tradition to *Ebubekir.* The other orders in Anatolia are Alevı (*B.Ş.*) Among the *tarikat's* generally there is a strong attachment to and love for Ali. The Bektashis do not recognize the first three Caliphs, and believe their Way came only from Ali. Some say that " spiritual grace and blessing," *manevı feyz*, came not from Muhammad to Ali but from Ali to Muhammad. We have seen in the story of the *Miraç* how Ali is regarded as having been prior to Muhammad. Muhammad possessed the Mystery of Prophetship, but Ali possessed the Mystery of Saintship (see word Vilayet) and the latter is superior to the first, for the first involved only a mechanical passing on of God's revelation, the latter involving an understanding of its hidden meaning.

ALI ABA.—" The Family of the Mantle," a reference especially to the holy five, *Muhammet, Ali, Fatma, Hasan* and *Hüseyin.* The tradition is that one day to protect his grandchildren from the rain, the Prophet opened his great coat and took *Hasan* and *Hüseyin* in the shelter of it, whence came the name. It is a term used generally and frequently by Bektashis in speaking of themselves. Thus on a tombstone in the *Şehitlik* tekke grounds there is a reference to *Mustafa Baba* of the Order of Abdals, slave of the Family of the Mantle. *Tariki Abdalandan bendei Alı aba.*

ALLAH EYVALLAH.—Literally meaning " God, yes by God," its use is simply as a strong statement, almost an oath of affirmation. Note its frequent use in the *Aynicem* ritual.

ANÂSIR.—The four "elements," earth, water, air, fire. It is from the mixture of these four elements that the "three children," the *mevalidi selasa* the mineral, plant and animal kingdoms come into existence.

ANKA.—According to the common people this is the name of a mythical bird, called also *Sımurg, Hümâ, Devlet Kuşu* which has its nest in the mythical Mt. Kaf, a bird with a name but without a body. According to the mystics *anka* is the chaos which, having no differentiation in existence, takes form only in the mind. *K.*

ÂRİF.—One who knows by experience the joy of tasting the essence of the Divine Reality.

ARAKİYE.—The white skull cap worn in the initiation service by the seeker, *talip*, who is being admitted. See Illustration No. 10, article No. 16.

ARAZ.—That which, being incapable of dependence upon itself alone is in need of the *cevher* or *Substance.* The Absolute Existence *Vücüdu Mutlak* is *cevher*, all manifestations and appearances are "accidents," *araz.*

ARI.—Literally "bee," is a symbol of "One who Seeks Reality."

ASLANLICEŞME.—In the right-hand corner as one enters the yard at the Haji Bektash Tekke there was a large pool into which waters poured from the mouth of a statue of a lion. This water for the Bektashis took the place of the Zemzem water of Mecca, and was preferred above all other waters both for drinking and washing. *B.Ş.* from *Hâmit Zübeyr, Türk Mecum* II.

AŞEVİ.—One of the houses of the Haji Bektash Tekke, and commonly a part of any tekke. Literally "kitchen" it may in an ordinary tekke be only the hearth where cooking is done. At Haji Bektash Tekke the Baba of the *Aşevi* was next in rank after the Dede.

ÂŞIK.—Literally meaning "One who loves" in Bektashiism its reference is to one who is faithful to the order, but not yet initiated. The *âsık's* may participate in the *sohbet* hour of mystic fellowship of music and song, but not in the actual ritualistic ceremony. *B.Ş.*

AŞKI NIYAZ OLSUN.—Literally "let there be love and (or of) prayer," an expression used both by the *Mevlevi's* and the Bektashis. A greeting would be sent to a Baba by saying "I make *aşkı niyaz* to the soles of his feet," *tabanlarını aşkı niyaz ederim.* *B.Ş.*

AŞK OLSUN.—A form of greeting. "Let there be love," i.e., may your reward be the Divine Love. To this greeting the reply was given *aşkın cemal olsun,* "may thy love be beautiful"; if then the one addressed says, *cemalın*

nur olsun "may thy beauty be light," the reply was given *Nurun alâ nur olsun,* "may thy light be exalted light." *B.Ş.*

AT EVİ.—One of the houses in the Haji Bektash Tekke. Literally "Horse House," those who lived there looked after the horses both of the tekke and of the guests.

AYAKÇI.—An expression used among both the *Mevlevi's* and the Bektashis. Literally "footman," it was used of those who had newly made confession, who therefore were assigned for any humble service.

AYAK MÜHÜRLEMEK.—"Sealing the Feet," standing with the great toe of the right foot placed over the great toe of the left foot. In the presence of the Baba one was expected to stand thus, as a sign of giving honour. In the *Mevlevi's* and other orders this was called *Niyaz.* *B.Ş.*

AYNELYAKIN.—"Eye of Certainty," understanding the Unity of God by an experience of inspired inner vision.

AYNİCEM.—For a discussion of the exact meaning of this word see p.I, 176 n. 2. It is the name given by Bektashis and Kizilbaş to their principal ritualistic ceremony. It was performed at the time of initiation, and apparently on other occasions also, as for example in memory of one dead. *B.Ş.*

AYİNE.—"The Mirror," a word used both of the universe of visible existence which reflects God in his beauty and of the Perfect Man who is the supreme reflection of God. God contemplates his own perfect form in this mirror.

BACI SULTAN.—A name given to women who have taken the vow of celibate Bektashi dervish. *Yeni Gün,* No. 14.

BADE.—Wine made from fresh grapes, used also with the meaning of "cup." In *Tasavvuf* it means divine love, both the longing to know God and the joy of experiencing Him. Bektashis use the word both in a literal and a figurative sense. *B.Ş.*

BADEFÜRUŞ.—Literally "the wine seller" is used in mystic language to mean the *mürşit.*

BAKA.—Literally meaning "permanently abiding," this word is used especially in the expression *Baka billah* which is the state following *fena fillah.* After one has had all consciousness of one's own acts and qualities and self annihilated one continues on in union with the Divine Reality.

BAL.—"Honey," a figure of speech representing Divine truth for which the *arı* or "bee" i.e., the seeker, is in search.

BALIM EVI.—One of the houses at the Haji Bektash Tekke, where celibate Babas lived.

BASIRET.—" Vision," i.e. spiritual vision, the power to see in the heart the essential reality lying behind phenomena.

BAŞ OKUTMAK.—A service of penitence. See p. I, 170ff.

BEL BAĞLAMAK.—" To Bind the Waist " to become a *muhip*, a fully initiated member involving the wearing around the waist of the *tiğbent* as a sign of rendering obedience.

BEL OĞLU.—A son in the ordinary sense.

BERAT.—Literally meaning " Innocence " or " Freedom from guilt," it is the name of the fifteenth night of the month *Şaban* when angels descend and when prayers are accepted. It is used in mystic language to refer to the time when the traveller, *salik*, along the mystic way attains to a realisation that the Divine Reality is manifested in him. It is often used in the expression *Kadru Berat* " the apportioning and the forgiving."

BERRANİ.—" Outsiders," those who are not Bektashis. *B.Ş.*

BERZAH.—A temporal stage between this world and the next. Used also in sense of hesitating, neither affirming nor denying. Used especially in the expression *Âlemi Berzah* the World of the Barrier, in which according to some mystics souls dwell after death, not embodied, but still self-conscious. In the Bektashi book *A'maki Hayal*, pp. 141ff., Pythagoras is pictured as still in the *Âlemi Berzah*, puzzling his head and wanting writing materials.

BEYTULLAH.—" The House of God," in *Tasavvuf* is the heart of the Perfect Man.

BEZIRGÂN.—Literally a " merchant," its reference is to the Perfect *mürşit*, one in whose company there is profit, the *arif* or gnostic who in his conversation scatters jewels of mystic wisdom. *Gördüm bir bezirgân yemenden gelir.* " I saw a merchant coming from Yemen." *B.Ş.* 374.

BİRLİK DİRLİK.—" Oneness, Life," not being separated from the sense of unity with the Divine. In *gülbenk's* there is the expression " May God not separate from *birlik dirlik* those who have attained," *Allah erenler birlikten dirlikten ayırmaya.*

BISMI ŞAH.—" In the name of the King," used in place of the orthodox expression " In the name of God," the king being Ali.

BUDELA.—Plural of *bedil*, " substitute " is a name of a certain group in the spiritual hierarchy of the mystics. Thus there are 40 *Abdal*, 7 *budela*, 4 *evtat*, 3 *mukabâ* and 1 *kutup* or *gavs*. The word is also used of vagabond dervishes, sometimes even the insane or the half-idiots who either claim the title or have it given by the common people.

BÜRCÜESET.—One of the Twelve Constellations of the Zodiac. In considering the significance of the relation of the Zodiac to the body of man, as shown in Illustration No. 17, it is correct to imagine not the constellations brought down to man but man's form "projected upon the heavens in the lineaments of the Zodiacal man." It is an application in Bektashiism of an idea common to the ancients and should be thought of in its psychological significance, "divested of astronomical or astrological connotations." The twelve constellations with their names, locations, signs and meanings are as follows :—

1. *Hamel*, Aries, the head of man, symbolized by the ram with a spiral horn for pushing through the dark forests to make an entrance for light.

2. *Sevr*, Taurus, the neck, the throat, where the emotional impulses meet to form or choke the creative wave, symbolised by the strong-necked bull.

3. *Cevza*, Gemini, the twins, arms and shoulders, the right governed by mental, the left by emotional impulse, symbolized by a pair of brothers.

4. *Seretan*, Cancer, the breast, symbolized by the crab which can move forward or backward, just as the emotions of the heart may have their influence in a helpful or opposite direction.

5. *Eset*, Leo, the heart or back, symbolized by the lion, incarnation of pride and the predatory instinct.

6. *Sünbüle*, Virgo, variously located in the central part of the abdominal cavity.

7. *Mızan*, Libra, the kidneys, a pair of scales, symbols of judging, selecting the good from the bad.

8. *Akrep*, Scorpio, the genitals, symbolized by a serpent.

9. *Kavs*, Sagittarius, the thighs, the muscle which holds the human body erect, symbolized by an archer.

10. *Cedi*, Capricornus, the knees, symbolized by a goat as the example of strong physical impulse.

11. *Delv*, Aquarius, the foreleg, symbol of a water bearer with urn, standing for resurrection, resurging of the psychic wave.

12. *Hût*, Pisces, the feet, symbolized by two fish, back to back, and representing primal forms of organic structure (See Illustration No. 17; picture on p. 95 of mimeographed *Virani Baba*; and Hambler's "On the Minor Prophecies of William Blake," pp. 63-66).

BÜT.—literally meaning any statue representing God, an idol, in *Tasavvuf*, it may have various meanings.

1. The perfect guide, *mürşidi kâmil*.

2. Man or anything which holds one back from attaining to God. That which is other than God, *mâsıvâ*.

BÜTHANE.—" The House of Idols," is a term often used by Bektashis to indicate that God's blessing is everywhere to be found. The Divine Reality is in the House of Idols. as well as elsewhere.

CÂM.—Meaning " cup " is a sign of the manifesting of God's real nature, *zat.*

CAN.—" Soul " is used especially of the disciple *mürit*, the one who is taking his *nasip* in initiation. It may also refer to all the dervishes.

CELÂL.—" Majesty, power," referring to the manifesting of God's harsher qualities, his anger and his might.

CEMÂL.—" Beauty," referring to the manifestation of God's gentler side, his grace and mercy.

CENAZE.—" Funeral." A two *rekât namaz* sometimes required of initiates after the ablution before initiation is sometimes called the funeral *namaz*, as an expression of " dying before death," it absolves one from further obligations of the canon law.

CEVHER, " substance," that which can exist by itself alone. Absolute existence, *vücudü mutlak*, is *cevher* ; the world is *araz*, " accident " because it is dependent upon the absolute.

CEZBE, " drawing," the attracting by God's spirit of the creature's heart so that the individual is drawn into spiritual contemplation.

CİFİR, " science of divination." See article *Djafr* in Enc. of Isl. A book called the *Cifri Ali* is said to be one of the books used by the Bektashis. It is supposed to be a book revealed to Ali and secretly handed down to his descendants. Learned *şeyh's* are supposed to have learned from it and therefore to be able to practise divination. *Haşim Baba's Ankai maşrik* is a book containing " *Cifrı* extractions," and was in use among the Bektashis. (Bektashi and *Tasavvuf* Texts, pp. 23-64).

ÇARDEH MASUMPAK, The Fourteen Innocents. See Chapter on Beliefs.

ÇİĞ, " raw " refers to a soul which is not yet disciplined and prepared, one who has not yet had experiential knowledge of the Divine Reality.

ÇIPLAK, " naked," an expression said to be especially in use among the *mevlevi's*, meaning the state of being stripped of all that is not God, *mâsıvâ*.

ÇIRAĞ, "candle or torch," not only the candle used in the *aynicem* as a symbol of the awakened, enlightened soul but also the candle which is in the home and the kitchen and each night "awakened" as a symbol of the soul's experience of reality. This symbol is in memory of the identification of Muhammad with the first "light" which emanated from the Godhead. If it had not been for this "Light of Muhammad" all would have been in darkness. (*Erk.* No. 4, p. 206).

ÇIRAĞCI, the "candle lighter," the one to whom is assigned the duty of "awakening" the candles in the *aynicem* service. Usually the *rehber* performs this function but sometimes a special individual is assigned just for this duty.

ÇIRAĞ DİNLENDİRMEK, "putting the candle to rest," used instead of the expression *söndürmek*. It was the custom to put out the candle by using the hand, rather than blowing it out. On initiation nights the candles were allowed to burn out without being extinguished.

ÇIRAĞ UYANDIRMAK, "awakening the candle" meant in effect "opening the tekke," by lighting the candles. The expression *çırag uyarmak* is also used with the same meaning.

DÂR, short for *Dârağacı*, "gallows," has two meanings. In mystic poems it is used in its dictionary sense in reference to the death of Mansur al Hallaj. In the technical language of the Bektashi ritual it means the centre of the *meydan* where much of the service takes place.

DEDE, "grandfather." Among regular Bektashis this is a title of the head Baba, formerly residing at the Haji Bektash tekke, now in Tirana. Among the *Alevi's* it is used of the ordinary Baba.

DEDE BAĞI, a vineyard attached to the Haji Bektash Tekke. There was formerly a *dergâh* there with a Baba and dervishes living in it.

DELİL, literally "guide," its use in Bektashi ritual is as a name of the candle-lighter with which the candles were "awakened."

DEM, means sometimes breath, more often a period of time, referring especially to the period of the reign or spiritual influence of the saint over gnostics, and also means wine or *raki*. *Demlenmek* means to drink wine; *demli olmak* means to be intoxicated.

DERVİŞ, one, who having already been initiated as a *muhip*, has now passed to the second degree, and is so entitled to wear the *tac*. Frequently the actual dervish lived in the tekke.

DESTUR, "permission." Before singing a *nefes* a Bektashi would say *Destur* by way of asking for permission. Until the Baba replied *Eyvallah* he was not at liberty to commence. *B.Ş.*

DEVİR, "rotation" or "cycle," a reference to the cycle of existence passing out from the Divine Reality down through the arc of Descent and then back into the godhead in the form of Perfect Man. See Chapter on Beliefs, section on Tasavvuf.

DEVREİ ARŞİYE, is the arc of Ascent. Mısrı Niyazı wrote a famous poem called by this name. Bek. and Tes. Texts, 421-449. So far as I have been able to learn, this poem exists only in MS. form.

DEVREİ FERŞİYE, is the Arc of Descent, and the name of a famous poem by *Haşim Baba*. There is a lithographed edition of this published in 1288 (1871).

DEVRİYE, "cyclical," the name of any poem which describes the cycle of emanation away from and back into the godhead.

DOLU, literally "full," it refers to the *raki* in a glass. It may also be used of one who has attained experiential knowledge of God, an *arif*.

"He holds the wine of love in his hand."
Aşkın dolusunu tutar destinde.

Kul Himmet B.Ş., 208.

DÜŞKÜNLÜK, "excommunication," see Chapter on Practices, section on ceremony of Repentance.

DUVAZDE İMAM, "Twelve Imams."

EHLİ HAK, EHLİ HAL, "People of Reality, of Spiritual State," those who have become conscious of divine manifestations within themselves. See also use of *Ehli Hak* for definite groups of mystics as described in *Notes sur la Secte des Ahle-Haqq*, by Minorsky, Paris. The Bektashis are mentioned on pp. 33 and 39.

EHLİ KAL, "People of Speech," those who are of the *şeriat*, who do not know the real essence of Reality. *B.Ş.*

EL ALMAK, "to take the hand," to become a dervish or to become attached to a *mürşit*. *B.Ş.*

EL ETEK TUTMAK, "to hold the skirt," to formally join the Way, a reference to the actual holding of the skirt of the *mürşit* by the initiate in the final stages of the Initiation Ceremony.

ELİFİ NEMET, "the *elif* of felt," the cloth girdle worn around the waist under the belt. *B.Ş.*

ELİFİ SUMAT, "the *elif* of food," a table cloth of leather given to dervishes on journey, carried, folded and suspended from the belt. The *Mevlevi's* also use this expression. *B.Ş.*

ELİFİ TAC, the earliest form of the Bektashi headpiece. See picture of this in Illustration No. 26.

ENELHAK, "I am the Divine Reality," the famous expression used by Mansur al Hallaji. As *Mahmudu Şebüsterı* said, "Since there is no real existence other than the Divine Reality, to say, He is God, or to say, I am God, are in fact the same thing." *B.Ş.*

ERBAİN, the "forty" day seclusion in a room for spiritual discipline, called also *çile*. *K.*

ERÇİÇEĞİ, "the hero's flower," any dervish or person acceptable to the Baba. *B.Ş.*

ERENLER, "those who have attained," used of one or more fully initiated members.

ERENLER CELLADI, "the executioner of the *Eren's*, a title used of *Hacım Sultan*, *B.Ş.*

ERENLER DEMİ, the rites which are performed, the fellowship of those in the *aynicem*.

ERKÂN, the ceremonies and ritual which are observed among the esoteric sects.

ERKÖÇEĞİ, or simply *Köçek*, literally "lad" or "dancing boy," used of the newly-initiated as he dances.

EŞİK, "threshold." Consult section on Taboos in Chapter on Practices. It is a symbol of the doorway which is Ali. Often over the door to the meydan is a plaque with the traditional words of Muhammad. "I am the city of knowledge, Ali is its doorway." The threshold, therefore, is a symbol of entrance into mystic light and knowledge.

ETHEMİ TAC, the four-pleated headpiece. See Illustration No. 20. It is a symbol of disdain of earthly things in remembrance of *Ibrahim Ethem's* having given up an earthly crown in order to follow the mystic life. For a good account of this famous mystic see Smith, *Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East*, pp. 178ff.

EYVALLAH, "Yes, by God," used in many of the *tarikat's* but especially by the *Mevlevi's* and the Bektashis in token of obedience, assent or affirmation and of interrogation. *B.Ş.*

EYVALLAH KAPUSU, used of one still wearing the *arakiye* serving first in the *Hanbağı* and later in the *Dedebağı* at the central tekke; in preparation for taking the full vows of dervish. When he entered upon this service it was said of him: "He has entered the door of Eyvallah." *Eyvallah kapusuna girdi*. *B.Ş.*

FAHIR, literally "pride, glory," it is used of all the kinds of Bektashi headpieces. *B.Ş.*

FAKİR, "the poor man," used as an equivalent of the word "I."

FAKR, "poverty," means having manifested in one *Fenafillah*, annihilation of individual consciousness, in God. The expression *Fakrufahri*, "Poverty is my pride," is much used. The reference is not to material poverty but to that real poverty by which there is annihilated all sense of personal activities and qualities as one loses oneself in God. Even if a person possesses material wealth, if he has true *fakr*, "he is not a slave to his property; he makes his property be a slave to him." *Fakr* is thus a station, *makam*, in the mystic ascent to God, a station in which the soul becomes one with Muhammad and Ali. Virani Baba's *Risale*, p. 7.

FARK, "discriminating," contemplation of unity in multiplicity, and multiplicity in unity. *B.Ş.*

FASILA, another term for the *arakiye*. See Illustration No. 10, article 16.

FENA, literally "annihilation." In mystic language the reference is to "annihilation of our thought of phenomena," just as *baka* is the perpetuation of our thought of God." Nicholson, *Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, 1918, I, 297. The *fena fillah* stage when completed passes into the *baka billah* stage. This terminology so common in all the dervish orders, was apparently first employed as a doctrine by Bayazid Bistami, d. 875 A.D. (Smith's *Early Mysticism*, p. 242.) See word *Fakr*.

FEYZ, "abundant blessing of God," the spiritual or psychic experience of having received inner benefit. It is a much used word in the sense of that spiritual joy and satisfaction which experimentally testifies to the validity of the spiritual power of one's *mürşit*. If one receives *feyz* then one has found his true *mürşit*.

FIRKAI NACİYE, "the party of salvation," a name applied by Bektashis to their own group in the conviction that by being a Bektashi alone can one truly attain to the mysteries to the Divine Reality. Other esoteric groups use the same expression for their ways.

FUKARA, "the poor," a term used of members of the Way.

GAYRET KUŞAĞI, "the girdle of endeavour," another name for the *tiğbent*, worn in the initiation service.

GERÇEKLER—GERÇEK ERENLER, literally "the true ones," those who have theoretically attained to the experience of being one with the Divine Reality.

GÜL DESTESİ, "bouquet of roses," an expression found occasionally in Bektashi *nefes'es*. The origin of it is said

to be in Ali's having said when he realized he was about to die: "Selman, bring me a bunch of roses." Ali took the bouquet and died. The story then continues as given in connection with Illustration No. 13, both the camel, the camel driver and the coffin being Ali. *B.Ş.*

GÜRUHU NACI, "the band of salvation," see word *Firkai Naciye.*

HABBE, the crystal bead worn by a Bektashi singly as in Illustration No. 10, article 10, or in fourteen as in Illustration No. 32, in the latter case representing the Twelve Imams and Muhammad and Fatma.

HABLÜLMETIN, "the strong cord," i.e., the Kuran and the Şeriat. See Kur. 3 : 98: "And hold ye fast by the cord of God." A tradition says: "The Kuran is the strong cord of God." *B.Ş.*

HAK VERE, "Let God give," a general expression meaning "no" or "there isn't any."

HAL, "condition," used generally among mystics in sense of a state of religious ecstasy.

HANBAĞI, one of the vineyards attached to the Haji Bektash Tekke.

HARABAT, Persian word meaning "wine shop," derived from an Arabic word meaning "ruins," a term used among mystics signifying the unity of God, also used for "tekke."

HATEM, "seal." According to a Bektashi tradition, Muhammad once gave Ali a seal. Later Muhammad was carried to heaven in the Miraculous Journey. He there came upon a congregation presided over by Ali who was sitting upon the *mürşit's* sheepskin. At first Muhammad did not recognize Ali, but on the latter showing him the seal he did homage to Ali. In view of this, among Bektashis Ali is considered the *mürşit* and Muhammad the *Rehber*. *B.Ş.*

See the similar story in Chapter on Beliefs, section Ali of Tradition.

HAYDAR, "lion," a name commonly used of Ali.

HİCAP, "the veil," the impression on the heart of material forms preventing the receiving of manifestations of the Divine Reality.

HİLAFET, "the Caliphate," a rank of officially appointed successor and representative of Haji Bektash Veli. At first *halife's* were appointed by Haji Bektash himself, later by the head Baba at the *Pir Evi*. Formerly there were six such, in Egypt, at the *Seyit Ali Sultan*, *Abdal Musa* and *Dürbali Sultan* tekkes, at Kerbela and Rumeli Hisar. Later one was appointed at *Merdivenköy* and still later in numerous other tekkes. *B.Ş.* See Chapter on Practices, section on Degrees.

HIZIR, a mythical being who is said to have drunk of the water of life. (Cf., *Abı Hayat.*) One story is that Hızır on the land and Ilyas on the sea go to the rescue of people in distress. Once a year on the night of *Hıdırıellez,* they meet at the foot of a rose tree, afterward parting and continuing their service of mankind. *K.* See page 119 n. 2 for a further reference to *Hızır.* Cf. *Encyc. of Islam,* article Khadir. Dr. White, in his *Primitive Religions among the People of Asia Minor,* p. 11, points out that almost every locality in Turkey had a place called "Khuddur Ellez." In general throughout Anatolia *Hızır* is identified with St. George, and so was venerated by Christians and Moslems alike.

One of the children of *Kadıncık,* born through the miraculous influence of Haji Bektash, was named *Hızrı 'llah.*

HULÛL, "incarnation," a doctrine generally considered by Moslem Mystics of the pantheistic school untenable, because where there is no "other than God" to even speak of *hulûl* becomes a contradiction. But in Bektashiism there is a definite belief in special appearances of God in special individuals, chiefly in Ali, the Twelve Imams and the Fourteen Innocents. *Muhyiddini Arabı,* on the other hand, says that while it is perfectly correct to say Jesus was God, it is a fallacy to say that God was Jesus, because God cannot be confined to a particular manifestation. (Khaja Khan's *Wisdom of the Prophets,* p. 90.) In this opinion doubtless, many Bektashis, in common with other Moslem mystics, would concur.

HUMHANE, "wine shop," used in mystic literature in the sense of the tekke or the source of spiritual blessing, *feyz.* *B.Ş.*

HUSEYİNÎ TAC, the twelve-pleated usual headpiece of a Bektashi dervish, represented by Article 13 in Illustration No. 10.

İBNİ VAKİT, "son of time," one who knows the value and the control of time, and who therefore surrenders all authority to the Divine Reality, and is obedient. Such a man is in the control of time, and so is called *Ibni Vakit.* *B.Ş.*

İKİLİK, "duality," seeing the creation as something separate from the Divine Reality, in the view of the mystic, an act of *şırk,* worship of other than the true god, syntheism.

İKRAR, "confession," used of affirming beliefs in the ceremony of initiation, *İkrar Ayını.* The word *nasip* is used in the same sense.

İLMİ YAKIN, "knowledge of certainty," that which comes through the evidence of the intuitive intelligence.

IŞIK, literally meaning "light or dervish," is a term sometimes used of a Bektashi initiate, but more often used of

the village groups, Kizilbash, etc. In the government documents gathered by *Ahmet Refik* in *Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik* it is the term constantly used of the heretical sectarian. The relation of such with the Bektashis is often obvious. (Cf. pp. 16 and 17.)

KALENDER, a word used with three distinct meanings. First, it is the name of members of an order established by Kalender Yusufi Endelusı, a Spanish Moslem, who was a contemporary of Haji Bektash Veli. The order had five fundamental conditions or requirements :—

(1) Purity of heart,
(2) Spirituality of soul,
(3) Exemption from worldly defilement,
(4) Perpetual travel through the Moslem world living on alms.
(5) Practice of severe acts of austerity in order to attain Heavenly favour, as exhibited in ecstasies and mystic illumination.

Second, it became used for any dervish distinguished for works of supererogation. Third, the word in time fell into disrepute and became used for any dissolute antinomian who wandered about doing his own will under the mask of sanctity. (*Gibb I*, p. 357, n. 1.) For information regarding them in their earliest stage when they played the part of Hindu Sadhus, see *Köprülü Zade Fuat Bey's Türkiye Tarihi*, p. 198. In the early days the words *Kalenderı*, *Haydern*, *Abdal* and *Bektaşı* were used as synonymous (*Anadoluda Islamiyet*, No. 5, p. 407, n. 1.) Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 178 and 267, uses the word Kalenterkhane as a name of the quarter for dervishes in general, or even the equivalent of Beggar's Han.

KANUN ÇIRAĞI, a name for the tall central candle with three wicks shaped like the *Hüseyinı Tac*, placed amidst the smaller candles on the Throne of Muhammad. See Illustration No. 2.

KAMBERİYE, the belt worn in memory of Kamber, Ali's groom. See Illustration No. 10, article 2.

KAZAYAĞI, Goose's Foot, a sign used among the village *Alevi's*, especially the *Tahtaci's*, the three toes of the foot apparently indicating the trinity of God, Muhammad and Ali. This sign is said to be the symbol of the *Tahtaci's* as the Cross is of the Christians. *Ilâh. Fak. Mec.*, No. 12, p. 62.

KEMERBESTE, "girded," used of the initiate who in taking his *nasip* has bound around his waist the *tiğbent*, with its three knots of the hand, the tongue and the loins.

KESRET, literally meaning "multitude," it is in mystic language

merely the differentiation of the one. Just as one gazing at the sea beholds waves, white caps and foam and can therefore speak of the many, he all the time realizes all are manifestations of the one sea. Just so the pantheistic mystic beholds the One in all the varied forms of the world round about.

KEVSER, a pool or pond in Paradise said to be as long as Yemen, as wide as the distance between San'a and Aden, cups around it as numerous as the stars of heaven, the water in it as cold as ice and as sweet as honey of which all who drink will never thirst. On the day of Resurrection the official cup-bearer, *saki*, of this beverage is to be Ali. The sherbet taken in the *aynicem* is in representation of this *kevser*. The whole conception to the Bektashis and other similar mystics is a parable of the religious insight and mystic experience, *irfanı Muhammad*, which has its source in Ali. *K*. (The word occurs in the Kuran 108 : 1 where it is sometimes translated "abundance." Al Beidawi, in commenting on this, interprets it in terms of the pond described above.)

KİLER EVİ, "The House of the Cellar," the name of one of the buildings at the Haji Bektash Tekke. For details see *Hâmit Zubeyr's* article in *Türkiyat Mec.*, II.

KIRK BUDAK, a candle in forty branches in the centre of the *meydan*, said to be used only in the ceremonies of *Nevruz* and the Tenth of Muharrem. Such a chandelier is rarely found in tekkes, the one in the circular *meydan* at *Merdivenköy* being the most famous one.

KIRKLAR, the "forty," a name of the forty saints who were a part of the spiritual hierarchy. See word *Abdal*. Among Bektashis it refers especially to those who in the traditional meeting held in the house of *Fatma* received *feyz*, "spiritual enrichment," from Ali. (For another account of this, see section on Ali of Tradition in Chapter on Beliefs.) According to this tradition Muhammad once knocked at the door when a meeting was going on. When asked from within who he was, he replied "Muhammad." He was told there was no place there for Muhammad. He knocked again and this time replied *Fakirim*, "I am the poor one." He was then admitted to the *aynicem*. Ali was distributing some grape-juice, "which Muhammad received and drank, immediately having his eyes opened to behold the manifestation of Divine Reality in Ali to whom after that he rendered due homage. Up to this time Muhammad had manifested in him only Prophetship. From this time on he was in possession of the mystery of Saintship, *sırrı vilayet*, as well. *B.Ş.* (See word *Vilayet*.)

KIRK MECLİSİ, MEYDANI, ŞERBETİ, "the Assembly, the Place and the Sherbet of the Forty," referring to the gathering in fellowship of Bektashis, the place of ritual and the ritualistic beverage drunk in symbolic reference to the *Kevser* of Paradise.

KIRK MAKAM, "The Forty Obligations" in connection with the Four Gateways. See Part I, p. 103.

KIZIL DELİ, "The Red Insane One," meaning wine, *B.Ş.*, 385. There appears also to have been in Bektashi tradition an early Bektashi named *Kızıl Deli* after whom a tekke in Dimetoka was named. *Kâşiful Esrar*, p. 25, speaks of *Kızıl Deli* as one of the famous Bektashi leaders. The tekke of that name was destroyed by *Mahmut II* in 1826. (See Jacob's *Die Bektaschijje*, p. 28.) The poems in *B.Ş.*, pp. 213, 248, 290 and 363 appear to refer to the traditional hero of that name. The reference on p. 132 appears to be to the river of that name which flows into the Maritza south of Dimetoka. *Cografya lugatı, Kamusu Türkı.*

KOYUN, KURBAN, "sheep," "sacrifice," meaning the initiate as he is led by the *tiğbent* around his neck into the presence of the *mürşit* in sign of humble obedience.

KÖÇEK, see *Er Köçeği.*

KURAN, the Perfect Man who is the vocal Kuran, *Kuranınatık*. The written Kuran is called *Kuranısamit*, "the silent Kuran."

LÂMEKÂN, "without space," as one attains to an experience of the unity of the Divine Reality both time and space disappear, leaving only *ânı daim*, "the perpetual moment." Bektashis therefore refer to the "Country of *lâmekân*," the state of oneness with God. *B.Ş.*, pp. 77, 420, 427.

MAĞFIRETİ ZÜNUP, "Forgiveness of sins." See Service of Repentance in Chapter on Practices.

MENGUŞ, the horse-shaped earring worn by celibate Bektashi dervishes.

MEST, "intoxicated," not the intoxication from drinking literal wine, but that which characterizes the one who in experience has tasted the real essence of the Divine Reality.

MEVÂLÎ, means both lord and slave. The *hadis*: "Whose lord I am, Ali is his lord," may be translated, "Whose slave I am, Ali is his slave." Bektashis call themselves *mevâlı*. *B.Ş.*

MEVT, "death," a word used of the destroying of desire. The man who is saved from lust and sensual pleasure is said to have died. The word refers to the mystery of "dying before death." The Bektashi idea of being true to the hand, the tongue, the loins is simply this voluntary death. *B.Ş.*

MEYDAN, the place where the ceremonies of the order are performed.

MEYDANCI, the one appointed to sweep and clean the *meydan*, arrange the sheepskins, etc.

MEYHANE, " saloon " or " drinking place," a word used of the tekke or lodge house.

MİHMAN EVİ, " guest house," one of the houses in the Haji Bektash Tekke. In an ordinary tekke this may consist of one room only.

MİMDUASI, the prayer of *mim* as in the line : In his eyelashes the *mim* prayer was written. *B.Ş.*, 226, evidently a reference to the idea expressed by *Ḳul Himmet* (*B.Ş.*, 223) that in the first radiation from the Absolute Unity there appeared a Light in which were written the initials of *Ali* and *Muhammad*. The *Mim Duası* would then be a manifestation of this so-called Light of *Muhammad*.

MUHİP, " intimate friend," used in a technical sense among Bektashis of the one who has taken his *nasip*, i.e., who has been initiated.

MUSAHİP, " companion " of the Way, one who has taken the *nasip* along with another.

NASİP ALMAK, to be initiated.

NAZARIM, literally " my regard, my glancing at or considering," used by Bektashis in place of thou in addressing another. *Mevlevi's*, on the other hand, say *Nazarin*, " thy glance."

NİYAZ, the bowing in reverence before the Baba or some symbolic position in the *aynicem*. The full *niyaz* to the Baba involves kissing him on both knees, on the chest and kissing the floor in front of him. The ordinary *niyaz* involved bending forward with hands on the floor to kiss the floor in front of one.

PALIHENK, the large twelve fluted stone worn at the belt.

PERVAZ, " flying," a term used of the *sema* or dance. (Cf. *Türk Yurdu*, Vol. IV, No. 22, p. 356ff.) The *Vilayetname* speaks of the table used for refreshments at the *aynicem* as a *pervaz sofrası*, MS. copy 55*b*, 56*a*.

PEYMENÇE, the position in the *meydan* to the left of the Throne of Muhammad.

PİRİMUGAN, in the first place meaning Old Man or Patron Saint of the fire worshippers, it became a common term in Persian poetry for Tavern-keeper, because in early days the Zoroastrians were the wine sellers, to whom often antinomian Moslems resorted. Since among the Bektashis the disciple takes wine as a sacrament from his spiritual leaders,

the expression came to bear a third meaning as the equivalent for *Kâmili Mürşid* or Perfect Guide.

POSTNİŞİN, one who sits on the skin, i.e., the Baba who is head of a tekke or dergâh.

RUM ERLERI, " The Heroes of Rum," a term used of Bektashis in the 14th century. *B.Ş.*

SAFANAZAR, a term meaning " healing glance," used frequently in the Vilayetname and in Bektashi poems. Thus in Vilayetname 56*a* crowds gather to receive the " spiritual blessing of his healing glance." *Safanazar ve himme ini almağa.*

SELMANİ, a term used of the wandering Bektashi dervish who, begging bowl in hand, goes forth to live on the charity of those who give to him. Dervishes are said to have been sent forth in this way by their *mürşit's*, direct begging being forbidden. *B.Ş.*

SİRACI MUNİR, " bright light," name for single candle lighted at beginning of the *aynicem*. This is used apparently in place of the *kanun çırağı*. See description of the *meydan*, p. 314ff.

SEYFİ TAC, another name for the four-pleated *Ethemı* tac.

SULTAN, an Arabic word meaning power or authority. Among the early Bektashis it was a common title for any of their Saints, e.g., *Balım Sultan, Seyit Ali Sultan*, etc. Bektashi Texts, p. 236, says that one of the duties of a Bektashi is to contemplate the Divine Reality, that all evil comes from forgetting the Divine Reality, that the one who does not forget has become thereby a real one of those who have attained, *erenlerden*, subject to (divine) power and authority, in other words a Sultan. See Rose, pp. 219-221.

SEYYAH VERMEK, " to send on a journeying," a discipline imposed by the *mürşit* either as a punishment or as a means of bringing spiritual awakening.

SIRROLMAK, lit., to become a secret or mystery, i.e., to die. It is said that some Bektashi saints, e.g., Viran Abdal, while still living have been suddenly transported. *B.Ş.*

SOFİ, a term rather of contempt used by Bektashis of the Sunni fanatic. *B.Ş.*, 121, 346, 347.

SOFU, SOFIYAN, used by Bektashis in speaking of the uninitiated Alevi, the Kizilbash, etc.

SÜREK, a term used of the initiation service of the village Alevis, or of any ritual ceremony. " The Way is one, the form many," *yol bir, sürek bin bir.*

ŞIRK, " idolatry or polytheism " in the sense of attributing

partners to God. For Bektashis and other Moslem mystics of the pantheistic type, making a distinction between the Divine Reality and the creation, *hakkı halktan ayri görmek* is *şırk*.

TAHTI MUHAMMAD the Throne of Muhammad, the steps as in Illustration No. 2 on which the candles are placed for the *Aynicem*. All tekkes apparently do not use this term, some using instead simply *çırağlık* " the place of the candles."

TAKİYE, " dissimulation," said to be a part of the Shia doctrines *B.Ş.* It is very important in Bektashiism. " Not to be as one seems, not to seem as one is " is rather an ideal than otherwise. This is especially true with respect to their relations with Sunnis. The verse: " Throw not yourselves with your own hands into ruin," Kur. 2:191 is taken as sufficient authority to justify even appearing in the costume of another order so as to avoid suspicion. This principle of *takiye* makes any investigation of real beliefs and practices difficult. Personal conversations with non-Bektashis are almost certain to be coloured by *takiye*. Such a printed book as the *Miratül Mekasit* is, any unbiased Bektashi will admit, written with *takiye*.

TALİP, the " seeker," used of any inquirer who wishes to become a Bektashi, and especially of one actually in process of being initiated.

TEBERRÂ, the withholding of love or even the loathing, hating of those who do not do homage to Ali, hence the first three Caliphs and those who reverence them. The Kuranic passage " lay the malison on those that lie " (3:54) is invoked to support *teberrâ*. *Viranı Baba* (printed Risale p. 71) says, apparently referring to this verse, that he who does not curse him whom God Most High curses shall be himself cursed.

TECİDİ VUZU, literally " renewing the humbling," the affiliating with another Baba after one's Baba has died. *B.Ş.*

TENASUH, metempsychosis, see the discussion under ideas of Death in Chapter on Beliefs.

TERCEMAN, a ritual prayer or recitation, used usually by the *rehber* in the *aynicem*.

TESLİM TAŞI, " the stone of surrender." See discussion of this in connection with Illustration No. 6.

TEVELLÂ, the opposite of *teberrâ*, cherishing love for all those who do homage to Ali and his family.

TİĞBENT, the woollen belt worn in the initiation ceremony. cf. Illustration No. 10, article 5.

VELAYET, Usually *Vilayet*, " the possessing of sovereign or controlling authority to dispose of matters." It is a station, *makam*, in the ascent to Perfect Man and complete union with the Divine Reality. It involves knowing the religious science, *ilim*, of all the prophets, and being characterized by the qualities of the Divine Reality. *Makamatı Evliya, ikincibab*. It is translated in this book " saintship " being the quality of being a *Veli* or Saint. The King of Saintship, *şahı vilayet* is Ali.

YETMİŞ İKİ MİLLET, " the seventy-two religious communities." This term is taken from a tradition from the Prophet: " My people will be divided into Seventy-two sects; all of them destined for hell fire except one, and these are the true believers." For fuller information on this see Mrs. Seelye's Moslem Schisms and Sects, a translation of part of al-Fark Bainal-Firak. Bektashi thought with regard to the Seventy-two communities shows a definite progression. In the *aynicem* initiation service the initiate recognizes only one sect, that of *Cafer Sadık*; he renounces all others and asserts that he is apart from the whole Seventy-two. This is the teaching of the *Tarikat* stage of progress. In the *Hakikat* stage or gateway, it is asserted that one must be above all criticism of the Seventy-two. That is, the mystic path begins by excluding all other ways to truth, and ends by an experience of Reality in which those differences can be overlooked. See above pages 193, 104, as Yunus Emre says: " He who cannot look with favour upon the seventy-two communities is a rebel against Truth." *Ilk Mutesavvıflar*, p. 339.

YOL OĞLU, " child of the Way," one who has taken the *nasip*, a Baba's child of the *Tarikat*.

ZÜLFIKÂR, the two-pointed sword of Ali. See Illustration No. 7. Frequently even in writing by hand the word Ali, the tail of the last letter will be parted at the end to represent this sword. It is so written in the title of the MS. *Risalet el Şeyh Mustafa*.

ZÜLF, " curl," " lock of hair," used to represent the manifesting of God's majesty and power, sometimes to represent differentiation and multiplicity. *B.Ş.*

ZÜNNAR, " belt," used in mystic language as a sign of service and obedience.

SUPPLEMENT IV

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The main sources of study of a secret Order like the Bektashis must necessarily be manuscript material of a sort prepared, not for outsiders, but for and used by themselves. Such material takes three forms: First, the wall charts and illustrations actually used in their own places of worship, such as are pictured in Supplement II; second, collections of hymns, called *cönk's*, when written in notebooks opening at the bottom rather than the side, or *mecmua's* if opening at the side. With such collections of hymns go also the *Divan's* or collections of poems by a single author. Third, manuals of practice, handwritten collections of ritualistic forms, explanations of symbols, question and answer catechisms, etc., called in Turkish *erkân nameler*. Except for the *Divan's* none of this material bears either name of author or name of book. The sources listed below are classified as far as possible in accordance with the divisions of this book. Those found to be of special help are marked with a star. The few books of most fundamental value of all are double starred.

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Taş Köprü Zade. *"Şakaiki Numaniye,"* Trans. by Mecdi Ef. Istanbul, 1269 (1852).
Von Hammer. "Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman," 3 vols., 1844.

2. IN ALBANIA.

Ali Pasha. Anonymous "Life of Ali Pasha of Jannina." London, 1823.
Cevdet. *"Tarih,"* vol. 10, p. 250 an official letter written to Ali Pasha; vol. 9, p. 197. Istanbul, 1309 (1891).
Degrand. "Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie." 1901.
Evliya Çelebi. *"Seyahatname,"* vol. 8. Istanbul, 1928.

D. THE THIRD PERIOD.

1. IN TURKEY.

MacFarlane, C. "Turkey and Its Destiny," 2 vols. London, 1850.
Ubicini, M. A. "Letters on Turkey," 2 vols. London, 1856.

2. IN ALBANIA.

Ali Turabi. "Historiya E Pergsitheshme E Bektashinivet." Tirane, 1929.
F. N. H. "Fletore E. Bektashiniyet." Korçe, 1921.
Hasluck, M. "The Nonconformist Moslems in Albania" in the Contemporary Review. 1925.
"Rregullore e Bektashiyvet Shqiptore." Tirane, 1930.

III.—BOOKS ABOUT BEKTASHIISM IN GENERAL.

A. TURKISH BOOKS.

Ahmet Refik. "*On Altıncı Asırda Rafizılik ve Bektaşılik,*" containing records from official archives, 1558-1591, 49 pp. Istanbul, 1932.
Baha Sait. * "*Türkiyede Alevı Zümreleri*" in *Türk Yurdu,* Nos. 21-28, espec. Nos. 26-28. Istanbul 1926-27.
Besim Atalay. * "*Bektaşilik ve Edebiyatı.*" Istanbul 1340 (1924).
Galip Baba. "*Haci Bektaş Veli,*" a series running in *Yarın* newspaper from Sept. 15, 1935 to Nov. 7, 1930. Istanbul, 1930.
Hamit Zübeyr. "*Haci Bektaş Tekkesi*" in *Türkiyat Mec.,* 2nd vol. pp. 365ff. Istanbul, 1926.
Hasluck, F. W. "*Bektasilik Tetkikleri,*" translated into Turkish from vols. 19-21 of Annual of British School in Athens. Istanbul, 1928.
Rifat Ef. * "*Mirat ul Mekasit,*" an answer to the "*Kâşif ul Esrar.*" Istanbul, 1293 (1876).
Rıfkı. "*Bektaşi Sırrı,*" 4 vols. Istanbul, 1325-1327 (1909-1910).
Süreyya Baba. "*Bektaşilik ve Bektaşiler,*" 46 pp. Istanbul 1330 (1914).
"*Munci Baba, Tarıkatı Aliye Bektaşiye,*" 37 pp. Istanbul, 1338 (1921).
Ziya. "*Bektaşilik,*" a series in "*Yeni Gün,*" Jan. 26, 1931, to March 8, 1931.

B. Attacks on the Bektashis.

"*Bir Bektaşı Babasının Hatıratı,*" a series of anonymous articles in "*Büyük Gazete,*" Nos. 3-23, Nov. 11, 1926 to March 31, 1927. Istanbul, 1926-1927.

İshak Ef. "*Kâşif ul Esrar ve Def ul Eşrar,*" a bitter attack on the Bektashis stirred by printing of the *Aşkname* in 1281. Istanbul, 1290 (1873).

Server Bedi. "*Bir Genç Kız,*" a short story, 48 pp. of a girl's experiences among Bektashis. Istanbul, 1927.

Yakup Kadri. "*Nur Baba,*" a novel. Istanbul, 1339 (1923).

C. Books in Foreign Languages.

Brown, J. P. * "The Dervishes" (see Rose). Istanbul, 1868.

Evliya Efendi. "Narrative of Travels," Vol. I, parts 1 and 2; Vol. II contains an account of Haji Bektash not in the Turkish version. Translation by Von Hammer. London, 1834-1850.

Garnett, L. "Mysticism and Magic in Turkey." London, 1912.

Hasluck, F. W. ** "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans." 2 vols. a fine study from secondary and tertiary sources. Splendid Bibliography of European books. Oxford, 1929.

Jacob, G. *"Die Bektaschijje." Munchen, 1909.

* "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Orders der Bektashis," contains a translation of the *Kâşif ul Esrar.* Berlin, 1908.

Rose, H. A. *"The Darvishes," a new edition of Brown's "Dervishes," with numerous footnotes, index and improved arrangement. Oxford, 1927.

IV. BELIEFS AND DOCTRINES

A. Miscellaneous Books.

* "Bektashi Texts," a well written MS. book of 328 pages, 5¼ by 8½ ins. containing

Pages 1–14 an unnamed section, pages mutilated.
,, 15–98 *Mürşitname, sual cevap.*
,, 98–101 *Ahitname* as revealed to Adam.
,, 101–108 *Silsilei* Alı Aba
,, 108–109 *Tacname*
,, 109–116 *On Iki Imam.*
,, 118–121 *On Dört Masum.*
,, 121–241 *Fahırname.*

Pages 241–313 *Makalatı Haci Bektas*, practically identical with the printed Vilayetname.
,, 313–328 *Hadisi Şerif Arbain.*
The book on p. 98 is certified correct by *Mahmut Baba* of *Şehitlik* Tekke and is dated 1266.

** "Bektashi and *Tasavvuf* Texts," a MS. book copied by *Riza ibn Seyit Emin Baba* of Adrianople, dated 1304–1310 (1886–1892).
Contains:
Pages 23–69 *Ankai Maşrik* by *Haşim Baba.*
,, 69–175 *Burhanul Arifin* by *Selim Baba.*
,, 175–179 *Tahkiki Azrail ve Keyfiyeti Kabzı Ervah.*
,, 179–191 *Kiyameti Afakı.*
,, 191–195 *Ali* and *Imamate.*
,, 195–217 *Makamatı Evliya.*
,, 217–221 *Ali* and *Imamate.*
,, 221–227 *Tarikatname* of *Eşrefoğlu.*
,, 227–233 *Tiğbent.*
,, 233–237 *Duvazde Imam*
,, 237–367 *Uyun ul Hidaye.*
,, 421–449 *Devrei Arşiye* by *Mısrı el Niyazi.*
,, 449 Chart of Emanations.
,, 450–464 *Kasidei Devriye Gaibi*
,, 464–471 *Miftahı Cavidan.*

"*Bektaşı Hikâyeleri*," 94 pages of stories of wit and humour. Istanbul 1337 (1918).

Çelebi Ahmet Cemaleddin Ef., "*Müdafaa*," a reply to prove that Haji Bektash was married and that the *Çelebi's* are descended from him. Istanbul 1327 (1909).

Fuzuli. "*Hadikatüssüada*," story of the lives of the prophets and especially of *Ali* and *Hasan* and *Hüseyin.* In writer's private library a MS. copy dated 1037 (1627) Printed copies. Boulac 1253 (1837). Istanbul undated.

Haşim Baba. "*Devriyei Ferşiye*," a poem describing the arc of descent. Although *Haşim Baba* does not appear to have been a Bektashi, this and other works of his are well known among Bektashis. Istanbul 1288 (1871).

Kaygusuz Sultan. "*Risale.*" Lithographed 91 pages, undated.

"*Kenzulmesaib.*" 504 pages containing the *Kumru* and *Sakiname's* much read by the village *Alevi's*. Istanbul, 1327 (1909).

* "*Makalâtı Haci Bektaş El Horasani*," translated from the original Arabic of *Haci Bektaş* into Turkish by *Kâtip Oğlu.* My copy is a photostat reproduction of a copy made by hand from MS. book, No. 775 in the *Emniyet Umumi Kütüphanesi.* 812 (1409).

"*Makamatı Evliya,*" a photostat copy of MS, made in 1349 (1930) at the Kaygusuz Tekke in Cairo. The book is the same as the *Makalât* of *Cafer Sadık.*

Necip Asim. "*Bektaşı Ilmihal,*" a resumé of an old MS. *erkânname*, contains outline of initiation service and of Muharrem ceremony. Istanbul, 1925.

Sadettin Nüzhet. ** "*Bektaşı Şairleri,*" contains selections from and biographies of 180 Bek. poets, glossary, bibliography and index. Istanbul, 1930.

Selman Cemalı Baba. "*Tarikat Name,*" a MS. copy kindly sent me by the author.

Şeyh Mustafa ibn es Seyit Ali el Ak Şehrı. "Risale" Photostat copy of MS. made at Kaygusuz Tekke in Cairo in 1349 (1930).

Seyit Gaybı. * "*Hutbetül Beyan,*" with translation and commentary in Turkish. A beautifully written MS. of 368 pages. 999 (1590). A copy is also to be found in the *Ali Emiri Ef.* Library.

* "*Vilayetname,*" a prose work in Turkish similar to but expanded on the *Makalât* of *Haci Bektaş*, printed in two editions, one undated, other dated 1288, 57 pp. Istanbul 1288 (1871).

Yemini Baba. "*Faziletname,*" a poem in honour of *Ali*, said to have been written in 926 (1519). In writer's library there is a MS. copy made in 979 (1571). Printed copy. Istanbul, 1327 (1909).

B. DIVANS AND *NEFES* COLLECTIONS.

Cönk No. 1, an undated MS. notebook 4¼ by 9 inches, containing 64 *nefes'es* by different poets together with questions and answers especially as to meaning of *şeriat, tarikat, hakikat* and *marifet.*

Cönk No. 2, also undated, 2¾ by 7 inches, written mostly with black ink on a silver background, contains a list of *makams* to which the *nefes'es* are sung, 53 poems.

Mecmua No. 1, 5¼ by 7¾ inches, 404 pages, first 98 pages missing, poorly written in different handwriting.

Mecmua No. 2, 6¾ by 8½ inches, 80 pages, containing an index, 145 poems. 1286.

Divan of *Eşref Oğlu*, printed; although *Eşref Oğlu* was a follower of *Haci Bayram Veli* instead of being a Bektashi, he nevertheless is one of the most popular poets among the Bektashis.

Divan of *Turabı Baba*, printed. *Turabı Baba* who was *Postnişin* in the *Pir Evi* and died 1285 (1868) is one of the most popular recent poets. Undated.

Azbi Baba, *Tahmis* of *Mısrı Niyazı's* poems, 1284 (1867).

Divan of *Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dede Baba*. Both *Mehmet Ali Baba* and *Azbi Baba* were *Babas* in the *Merdivenköy Tekkesi*. 1327 (1911).

M. Şakir, Basılmamış Bektaşı Şairleri in *Atsız Mecmua*, Nos. 4–8. 1931.

C. HURUFI BOOKS.

Browne, E. G. * "Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurufi Sect," in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Jan., 1898.

Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis, J.R.A.S. 1907.

Huart. * "Textes Houroufis," containing eight Persian texts with French translation and a study on the Hurufis by Dr. *Riza Tevfik*. 1909.

* "Hurufi Texts in Turkish," a MS. book, 6 by 8¾ ins., 140 leaves, containing the following texts. 1258 (1842):

Leaves 1– 19 *El Mukadamei Tuhfetulhakaik lihazreti Seyid Nesimi.*
,, 19– 46 *Risalei Virani.*
,, 46– 61 *Ahiret Namei Abdulmecit ibn Ferişte.*
,, 61–125 *Risalei Aşk Name Ilahi min bendei Hazreti Fazl Yezdani.*
,, 125–129 *Risalei Elşeyh Elmısrı Bitarifi Kelimei Tevhit.*
,, 129–131 *Risalei Esrati Saat li Mısrı Efendi.*
,, 131–132 *Hikâyei Kissa Elhazriye li Mısrı Efendi.*
,, 132–136 *Risalei Tesavuf li Mısrı Efendi.*
,, 136–140 *An Kissai Elhizreye li Mısrı Efendi.*

Nesimi Divanı, printed 1286 (1869).

"*Risalei Uyun ulhidaye*," a MS. book 6½ by 9 inches, 141 pp., 1290 (1873).

An unnamed MS. of a Hurufi text in Turkish written by *Hafiz Esat bendei Seyit Mahmut Baba*; the first few pages are missing. 4¼ by 7 inches, 113 pages. 1297 (1870).

Sadık Vicdanı, "*Hurufilik ve Bektashilik*," a series of articles by one of the best investigators, on old-fashioned lines, of the dervish orders, in *Büyük Gazete*, Nos. 90, 91, 92. 1928.

"*Aşk Name*," being the Turkish translation by *Ferişte Oğlu* of the *Cavıdan Name* of *Fazl Yezdani*, lithographed edition 127 pages. Undated.

"*Aşk Name*," another lithographed edition, pages 1–164, containing also *Kemal Namei Alı Aba* pp. 1–15. *İshak Efendi* in *Kâşif ul Esrar* speaks of the *Aşk Name* as first appearing in 1288 (1871). Undated.

"*Aşk Name*," a MS. copy dated 1272 (1855) 272 pages.

* "*Nazım ve Nesri Virani Baba,*" lithographed edition 94 pages, with human figure showing parts of body represented by constellations, planets, etc. Bears seal of *Vehbi Baba* as certificate of authenticity. Printed in Cairo. 1290 (1873).

"*Nazım Nesri Virani Baba,*" printed, 92 pages, undated.

"*Risalei Virani,*" a MS. book, same as above two texts, contains at end two *nefes'es* and an *Erkânnamei Tarikat.* Undated.

D. Caferı AND *Alevı* DOCTRINE.

"*Caferı* Texts," a MS. book, 5¾ by 7¾ inches, containing the following texts:

Hüsniyye, with an introduction not included in the printed *Hüsniyye,* pages 1–155, an account of a slave girl, a student of *Cafer Sadık* in the city of Bagdad and her victorious argument with the learned men of that day defending the theological ideas of the Bektashis and the Kizilbash. The introduction says the book was translated from Arabic into Persian in 958 (1551) and into Turkish in 1274 (1857).

Pages 1–22 *Makalâtı Cafer Sadık.*
,, 1– 8 *Devriyei Ferşiye* of *Haşim Baba.*
,, 1– 6 *Gazel.*
1285 (1868).

* "*Hüsniyye,*" printed book of 162 pages, same as above except for introduction. Undated.

"*Tezkiyyei Ehli Beyt,*" a lithographed book of 94 pages by Ishak Efendi in reply to the *Hüsniyye.* Very poorly written. 1295.

"*Makalâtı Hazreti Imam Cafer es Sadık,*" printed, 16 pages. Same as above in Caferi Texts and same as the *Makamâtı Evliya.* 1288(1871).

"*Hazreti Ali Devler Peşinde,*" part I printed in new letters, 64 pages, a folk story of *Imam Ali.* 1932.

"*Mevludu Cenabı Ali,*" by *Suleiman-Celal ud Din.* 1307 (1889).

"*Mezahibi Islamiyeden Akaidi Imamiye.*" 1327 (1909).

"*Imamiye Ilmi Hal.*" 1341 (1922).

V. RITES AND PRACTICES.

"*Erkânname,*" No. 1. Photostat reproduction of a Bektashi Baba's private notebook containing forms of prayer and of ritual. Pages 2 by 3½ inches, 84 pp. Undated.

" *Erkânname*," No. 2. Private notebook MS. containing *Erkâni Aynicem, Sureti Dua, Sureti Telkin,* also parts of the Rufai ritual 15 pages, 7¾ by 10¾ inches. Undated.

** " *Erkânname*," No. 3. Full account in MS. form of the *Aynicem* with both procedure and ritual forms. 87 pages, 4½ by 7 inches. Undated.

** " *Erkânname*," No. 4. A MS. notebook of 212 pages containing:

Pages, front cover, *Cenaze duası.*
,, 1– 2 Man reflecting saints.
,, 3– 14 *Terceman's.*
,, 4 *Nadi Ali.*
,, 15 *Derbeyanı Namaz.*
,, 15– 22 *Sual ve cevapname.*
,, 23– 31 *Erkân, vazifei mürşit.*
,, 32– 39 *Erkân, vazifei rehber.*
,, 40 *Sakiname.*
,, 43– 46 *Şerhi Ayet un Nur* (Arabic).
,, 47– 49 *Nukte.*
,, 50– 66 Hurufi treatise.
,, 66– 73 *Niyetler* (Persian).
,, 73– 76 *Namaz.*
,, 77– 79 *Ebyatı Şerif.*
,, 81– 84 *Miftahı Cavidan.*
,, 89– 94 *Tefsiri Suretül Kevser.*
,, 95– 98 *Risalei Seyit Safi ed Din (mukaddeme).*
,, 99–146 *Dibacei risalei Safi ed Din.*
,, 147–186 *Risalei Virani.*
,, 187–189 *Mashafı kibirden, ayat.*
,, 189 *Manai Focet.*
,, 191 *Babagân esamı.*
,, 192–200 *On iki imam.*
,, 200–203 *On dört musamu pak.*
,, 204 *Derbeyanı tiğbent.*
,, 206 *Derbeyanı teslim.*
,, 206 *Derbeyanı çırağ.*
,, 208–211 *Salavât name.*
,, 211–212 *Fatihatül Fukara.*

" *Erkânnamei Tarikat*," 4 pages at back of MS. copy of *Virani Baba.*

Fevaitname, MS. copies in writer's private library and in Library of Istanbul University.

Menzel, Th. Das Bektaschi-Kloster Sejjid-i-Ghazi, in Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientasiche Sprachen XXVIII. 1925.

" *Nevruz erkânı*," a short MS. giving the ceremony for New Years. Undated.

Wulzinger, K. Drei Bektaschi-Kloster Phrygienes. Berlin, 1913.

VI. BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Ahmad Shah. "Miftahul Quran." Benares, 1906.

Codrington, O. "A Manual of Musalman Numismatics." London, 1904.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition. Cambridge, 1910.

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Encyclopædia of Islam, 4 vols. Leyden, 1913.

Fluegel, G. "Corani Textus Arabicus." Leipsig, 1893.

Halil Ethem. "*Duveli Islamiye.*" Istanbul, 1927.

Hava, J. G. "Arabic English Dictionary," Beirut, 1915.

Hughes' Dictionary of Islam. London, 1885.

Köprülü, M. Fuad. "*Türk Halkedebiyatı Ansiklopedisi, Sayi* 1." Istanbul, 1935.

Lane, E. W. "An Arabic-English Lexicon." London and Edinburgh 1863–1874.

Lane–Poole. "The Mohammadan Dynasties." London, 1894.

"*Müzeyi Humayun Meskukatı Kadimei Islamiye Katalogu,*" Vols. 1 to 6. Istanbul 1312–1334 (1894–1915).

Redhouse. "Turkish and English Lexicon." Istanbul, 1890.

Rodwell and Sale's "Translations of the Kuran."

Şemseddin Sami. "*Kamusul Âlâm,*" 6 vols. Istanbul, 1306–1316 (1889–1898).

"*Kumusu Türkı,*" 4 vols. Istanbul 1317 (1899).

Tarihi Osmanı Encumeni Mecmuasi (T.O.E.).

Zenker. Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persian. Leipsig, 1866.

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